

The University of Chicago

OLD HIGH GERMAN *BITEILEN*
AND *BISKERIE*N

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF
THE DIVISION OF THE HUMANITIES IN CANDIDACY
FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF GERMANIC LANGUAGES
AND LITERATURES
1934

BY
LUISE HAESSLER

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PREFACE

This is the first instalment of a study begun nearly thirty years ago, the subject of which, Prefix *Be-* Privative in Germanic, was offered to me by my revered teacher, Professor Emeritus Francis Asbury Wood of The University of Chicago, to whom this thesis is dedicated. For those who had the privilege of attending Professor Wood's classes, the depth and breadth of his knowledge, his kindliness and his modesty were a constant source of amazement and admiration, and remained an ideal to strive for, for all time.

The occasion of the suggestion of the subject was the occurrence, in our Old Saxon course, of OS *bidelian*, defined as 'entziehen' in the glossary of F. Holthausen's *Altsächsisches Elementarbuch*. Prefix *Be-* Privative in Germanic was suggested at first as a subject for a master's thesis; later, when the idea of getting a master's degree was abandoned, it remained a subject for a doctor's dissertation. It proved too large a subject even for that. For years, material was collected from all the Germanic dialects, from the beginning to the present. The purpose of the study was to discover the origin and development of the privative meaning of the prefix *be-*, a meaning rather limited in extent. The study was begun on the basis of development of meaning, but this approach proved futile. It had seemed, during the gathering of material, that the pessimistic meaning prevailed in words with prefix *be-*, but a study and classification of all the words with prefix *be-* listed in the *New English Dictionary* showed that the proportion of pessimistic to optimistic meaning was as fifty to fifty. At last, a study based on chronology and syntax led to fruitful results.

In spite of the vast mass of material collected from the other Germanic dialects, it seemed advisable to begin with Old English, because of its wealth of early syntactic material. All the Old English material has been studied. It appeared, however, that unless the corresponding material in the other dialects were studied and made use of, the conclusions drawn from the Old English material alone would be liable to attack. In the present study, the Old High German material not only corroborated the conclusions drawn from the Old English material, but furnished so many new problems that it has received first place.

When, in the near future, the stress of teaching and administrative

activity will have ceased, work on the general subject of Prefix *Be-* Privative in Germanic will be resumed, and it is hoped that the entire study will be completed within a few years.

To Columbia University Library I owe a debt of gratitude for the courtesy and generosity of its staff, who for years made books in large numbers readily accessible, and provided quarters that made work easy and enjoyable.

The professors of The University of Chicago to whom I owe my training and inspiration have nearly all retired from teaching: Professor Francis Asbury Wood, Professor Starr Willard Cutting, Professor Camillo von Klenze, Professor Martin Schütze, Professor Carl Darling Buck. The new generation that now forms the professorial staff of the Department of Germanic Languages and Literatures of The University of Chicago I want to thank for its patience and courtesy: Professor Archer Taylor for his kindness and hospitality to a stranger; Professor Chester Nathan Gould, once a classmate, for introducing me to the life and spirit of modern Iceland; and Professor Leonard Bloomfield, also a former classmate, for the great care with which he read this dissertation and for his valuable suggestions in regard to its introduction and arrangement.

Professor Franz Boas of Columbia University, with whom I studied half a dozen mutually unrelated American Indian languages, gave me a new perspective for my own Indo-European field.

Most of all, I want to thank one who died shortly after the work on my dissertation was begun, but whose example and teaching were worth more than four years of college, one who has been the inspiration of my life—my music teacher, Julius Klauser of Milwaukee. If my work as a teacher and as a student has been fruitful, it is in the largest measure due to him.

I want to thank the Linguistic Society of America for accepting my dissertation for publication, and to express my deep appreciation of the painstaking care with which Professor Roland G. Kent, Secretary of the Linguistic Society of America, and Professor George Melville Bolling, Editor of its Publications, read my manuscript and saw it through the press.

Lastly, a word of thanks is due to Miss Gertrude E. Mallette for the intelligence and conscientiousness with which she typed the dissertation, checked the sources, and helped read the proof.

LUISE HAESSLER

Brooklyn College
December 8, 1934

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To
FRANCIS ASBURY WOOD

I. INTRODUCTION

§1. The present study is a small portion of a study entitled: Prefix *Be-* Privative in Germanic. The purpose of this study is to determine, on the basis of chronology and syntax, the development of meaning of so-called privative verbs with prefix *be-*.

§2. The results of this investigation show that West Germanic **bi-dailjan* (OHG *biteilen*, OS *bidelian*, OE *bedælan*) is a back-formation, based on the participial adjective West Germanic **bidailið-* (OHG *biteilit*, OS *bidelid*, OE *bedæled*), which in turn was derived directly from the noun Germanic **dailiz* (Goth. *dails*, OHG *teil*, OS *del*, OE *dæl*). The prefix *bi-* in this case has negative meaning, and the participial adjective itself is passive in meaning: 'having no share in', 'destitute of', 'void of', 'free from', 'without'. Its Latin equivalents are: *expers*, *exsors*, *exheres*, *uacuuus*, *desertus*; in combination with the verb *to be*: *carere*, *deesse*.

§3. The origin of OHG *biteilen*, OS *bidelian*, OE *bedælan* manifests itself most clearly in Old English, where there is a wealth of syntactic material from the eighth and ninth centuries. In Old High German, unfortunately, *biteilen* does not occur in the large works of the ninth century: Tatian, Isidor, Otfrid. Nevertheless, the Old High German glosses present a rich development in meaning of the verb, which is entirely wanting in Old English. In Old English, the verb *bedælan* was short-lived, while the participial adjective *bedæled*, from which it was derived, retained its vitality for many centuries. In Old High German, on the other hand, the verb *biteilen* drove out the participial adjective and itself attained great vigor.

§4. Germanic **biskarjan* (OHG *biskerien*, OE *bescerian*) was a true verb. Its original meaning was 'to disinherit' (literally: 'to cut off'). This meaning is found in the earliest Old High German and Old English glosses and persists in both dialects. However, **biskarjan* came to be used with other things also, but these are exclusively non-material:

Old High German	Old English
reward	reward
communion	communion
desire	desire
honor	authority
dignity	reign
sight of son	provostship
fruitfulness	stewardship
sexual intercourse	power
	glory
	seats of glory in heaven
	good
	blessing
	joy
	miracle
	sacred mysteries
	miraculous gift
	light
	entrance into church
	movement of limbs
	deeds
	guilt

§5. The original meaning of Germanic **biskarjan* and the fundamental difference between **biskarjan* and **bidailjan* are not brought out in the dictionaries.

OE <i>be-dælan</i>		OE <i>be-scerian</i>	
G-H-K	B-T	G-H-K	B-T
privare	privare, deprive	privare	privare, deprive
orbare	orbare, bereave		
liberare	liberare, deliver, release, free from anything		
expertem reddere	expertem reddere		
sejungere	sejungere	separare a re fraudare	separare, separate fraudare, defraud

§6. Of the meanings given under *be-dælan*, only 'privare' belongs to the verb. All others should have been listed under the participial adjective *bedæled* as 'orbatus, experts, free from'. There are but seven

examples of active forms of OE *be-dælan*. These began to appear in the latter part of the ninth century. One is ambiguous: the rest imply that something is withheld.¹ In two examples from Boethius, B-T justly gives an adjectival translation for OE *bedæled*:

B-T 75: Hi bioþ ælces cræftes bedælde *they are destitute of all ability*. Bt. 36.6.

B-T Suppl. 68: Bedæled ælces godes *destitute of every good*. Bt. 18.1.

§7. *Privare* is a correct definition of OE *bescerian*, but it is also the only definition given in G-H-K of half a dozen other Old English verbs: *benæman*, *beneotan*, *beniman*, *bereofan*, *besnyððan*, *bestrudan*. The pregnant original meaning of OE *bescerian*, from which all its other meanings were probably derived, 'to disinherit', i.e. 'to cut off', is not mentioned.

It is very doubtful whether OE *bescerian* ever meant 'defraud'. Ps. 77. 30 of the Lambeth Psalter is cited by B-T 90 to illustrate this meaning: Hig ne synt bepæhte oððe besceyrede fram heora gewilnunge *non sunt fraudati a desiderio suo*. The Revised Version translates: They were not estranged from that which they desired. 'Defraud' is of course quite possible, but 'cut off' would fit the situation equally well.

§8. Besides the fact that *bedælan* expresses a state while *bescerian* denotes action, there is another difference between the two verbs which is not brought out in B-T: the things of which one is deprived or destitute are non-material in the case of *bescerian*, material or non-material in the case of *bedælan*.

§9. *Bedælan* and *bescerian* approach each other in meaning when 'deprived' implies that something is withheld, but these differences of state versus action, material or non-material versus non-material remain.

§10. While there is little syntactic material from the eighth century in Old High German, and while *biteilen* and *biskerien* do not occur in Tatian or Isidor or Otfrid, the Old High German glosses present a mine of wealth that has hardly been touched. In the present study alone, nine words have been unearthed, which are either not recorded at all in Schade or Graff, or of which the special meaning has not been recorded, or the form correctly interpreted.

¹ Cf. p. 82 below.

Words not recorded:

bilirnen St-S 1.820.33
firwifen St-S 2.138.9, 139.64.
firrachini St-S 2.546.80.

Special meaning not recorded: *betullen*

St-S 1.577.49, 580.41, 743.21, 786.38. Cf. Lexer 1.245.

Form not correctly interpreted:

frahhun St-S 2.450.51. Cf. Graff 3.816.
fergisten St-S 1.787.51. Cf. Graff 4.126.
gigisten St-S 2.112.70, 467.55, 471.33. Cf. Graff 4.126.
zurgist St-S 2.357.52. Cf. Graff 4.126.
frumikist Graff 4.126.

§11. Since Old High German syntactic material was wanting, it was necessary to scrutinize the Latin equivalents of the two verbs and their various Old High German glosses. This disclosed the development in meaning of OHG *biteilen* and made still clearer the difference between *biteilen* and *biskerien*.

§12. Only on the basis of chronology could fruitful results be obtained. A striking example of gross error into which the neglect of chronology leads is Josef Lenze's discussion of Old English *niman* and *beniman* in his dissertation entitled: *Das Praefix bi- in der altenglischen Nominal- und Verbalkomposition mit gelegentlicher Berücksichtigung der anderen germanischen Dialekte*, Kiel 1909. On page 112 he says:

Im Ae. sind vielmehr einige wenige Verba, die auf ganz natürlichem Wege zu Konstruktion und Bedeutung der verba privandi gelangten, vorbildlich gewesen für die anderen.

1) Einmal sind es mehrere Verba, deren Grundwort schon privative Bedeutung hat. Nehmen wir einige Beispiele.

beniman heisst 'j. einer Sache berauben' und wird konstruiert mit acc. pers. und instr. rei. Das Grundwort 'niman' dagegen wird mit dat. pers. und acc. rei verbunden (wie im Deutschen: einem etwas nehmen): *me sceal wæpen niman*, By. 252. Als nun die transitivierende Partikel *be* vor das Verbum trat, wurde diese Konstruktion regelrecht umgewandelt, . . . der persönliche Dativ wurde Acc.-Objekt und der acc. rei instrumentale Bestimmung.

The example is from the end of the tenth century, and the construction originated in that century. No such construction occurs with OE *niman* in the eighth or the ninth century, while OE *beniman* has its

characteristic construction as early as 700 A.D. Nor does this construction of *niman* occur at all in the Heliand or the OS Genesis.²

§13. Dative and accusative do occur with Gothic *niman*, but there is no privative meaning. In each case the dative is reflexive:

Luke 16.6: *nim þus bokos jah gasitands sprauto gamelei fimf tiguns.*

Take thy bond (writings), and sit down quickly and write fifty.

Cf. also Luke 16.7.

Rom. 13.2: *iþ þai andstandandans silbans sis wargiþa nimand.*

and they that withstand shall receive to themselves judgment.

2. Cor. 6.1: *Gawaurstwans jah þan bidjandans ni sware anst gudis niman izwis.*

And working together *with him* we entreat also that ye receive not the grace of God in vain.

§14. Moreover, the privative meaning did not reside in *niman*, but in the context, and was expressed by means of a prepositional phrase: in Gothic, with *af*; in Old English, with *on*. *Niman* with privative meaning of the context does not occur in the Heliand.

John 16.22: *jah þo fahed izwara ni ainshun nimiþ af izwis.*
and your joy no one taketh away from you.

Cf. also Luke 6.29, 19.24; John 10.18.

c. 700 Genesis A 891: þa þu gitsiende
on beam gripe, blæda name
on treowes telgum

Mason 1915: when in your cupidity you seized on the trunk and took the fruit from the branch of the tree

Cf. also Christ and Satan 415.

c. 700 Beowulf 2986: þenden reafode rinc oðerne,
to nam on Ongenðio irenbyrnan,
730 heard swyrd hilted, ond his helm somod;

Hall 1911: Meanwhile one warrior stripped the other, and took from Ongentheow his iron corslet, his strong and hilted sword and eke his helmet.

Cf. also Judith 314.

² Cf. Edward H. Seibt, *Vollständiges Wörterbuch zum Heliand und zur alt-sächsischen Genesis* (Hesperia 14.412); Göttingen 1925.

Last Boethius 59.24: Hu ne miht þu geseon ælce dæg þ̅ ða strengran
decade nimað þa welan on þā unstrengū?

9 C. Sedgefield p. 63: Dost thou not every day see the strong
robbing the goods of the weak?

§15. OE *beniman* had its characteristic construction as early as 700
A.D.

c. 700 Genesis A 56: and dreame benam
his feond, friðo and gefean ealle,
torhte tire,
Kennedy 1916: despoiled his foes of bliss and peace and
joy and radiant grace

II. THE OLD SAXON MATERIAL

The Old Saxon Material is too scant to enable us to draw any conclusions from it. **Biskerian* does not occur at all, and of *bidelian* only two examples are recorded, both in the Heliand. One presents the participial adjective, the other the preterite. The meanings are the same as in Old English. The participial adjective means 'having no share in'; the preterite connotes that something has been withheld.

Heliand 2140: Than scal Iudeono filu,

 theses rikeas suni berobode uuerðen,

 bedelide sulicoro diurðo,

Simrock 1882 p. 81: wenn der Juden viel

 Dieses Reiches Söhne, beraubt sein werden

 Und theillos der Ehre

Heliand 4439: bedeldun sie iuuuaro diurða

Simrock 1882 p. 161: Ihnen Wohlthat weigertet

III. THE OLD HIGH GERMAN MATERIAL

In the examples from the Old High German Glosses, edited by Steinmeyer and Sievers, the Latin context is added in order to show the meaning of the word glossed.

§1. While OHG *biteilen* and OHG *biskerien* appear neither in Tatian nor in Isidor nor in Otfrid, the Old High German glosses furnish numerous examples of both verbs.

Latin Words Glossed by OHG *biteilen* and *biskerien*

§2. The following Latin words are glossed:

1. <i>biteilen</i> and <i>biskerien</i>	2. <i>biteilen</i>	3. <i>biskerien</i>
priuare	proscribere	de<uo>ratores
fraudare	defraudare	extraneus
frustrare (-i)		extorris
		alienus
		deditos

DIFFERENCE IN MEANING BETWEEN OHG *biteilen* AND *biskerien*

§3. Groups 2 and 3 manifestly differ from one another. Group 1 might lead the superficial observer to regard the two Old High German verbs as identical in meaning. The two Old High German verbs do indeed become synonymous; and, in contrast with Old English, the active forms of OHG *biteilen* prevail, and persist for several centuries, while the participial adjective disappears. Unfortunately, there is but a single example of OHG *biteilen* from an eighth-century manuscript, as compared with the wealth of eighth-century material in Old English. Nevertheless the early examples of OHG *biteilen* and OHG *biskerien* reflect the same difference in meaning between the two verbs as will be observed in Old English.

§4. In the following two examples from the eighth century, three differences appear, although the participle is used in both cases:

1. *Bitailit* expresses a state. *Piskeriter* implies activity.
2. *Bitailit* expresses a sharing, hence is social in meaning: others may have a part. The activity expressed in *piskeriter* is restricted to an individual.

3. The thing in which the person has no share is objective: the friendship of another. The thing from which Joseph's father is cut off is subjective: his own seeing of his son.

8 C. St-S 3.8.11: Codex SGalli 913: *Fraudabere bitailit bis*
Aldhelm 383.725: *Frater, amicitia numquam fraudabere*
nostra:

St-S 1.279.31: Codex Carolsruh. Aug. IC: *Fraudatus*
piskeriter . . .

Gen. 48.11: *Non sum fraudatus aspectu tuo*

§5. The social character of things connected with OHG *biteilen* appears also in the following examples from the ninth century:

c. 802 Benediktinerregel 232.14: Si quis tamen frater
in ringirom teilnumft
in leuioribus culpis inuenitur! a mense participatione
piteilit si piteilte kinozsceffi
priuetur; Priuati autem a mense consortio!

9 C. St-S 2.82.1. Codex SGalli 193:
Fraudaremur uuarin piteilit
Caesarii Homiliae (Bibl. max. patrum Lugd. tom. VIII)
XXIX p 849^b
inæstimabile esset, quantum nobis de æternæ vitæ gaudiis
fraudaremus

§6. In Ecclesiasticus 29.10 the gloss for *fraudari*: *piteilit* (participle) shows the meaning 'lacking, without', the natural development from 'having no share'.

St-S 1.577.48. *Fraudari Ecclesiasticus 29.10.*

c. 1070	a	Clm. 18140	<i>piteilit</i>
10-11 C.	b	Clm. 19440	<i>piteilit</i>
10 C.	c	Codex Vindob. 2723	<i>piteilit</i>
10 C.	d	Codex Vindob. 2732	<i>piteilit</i>
12 C.	e	Codex Gotwic. 103	<i>piteilit</i>
10 C.	o	Clm. 18036	<i>piteilit</i>
12 C.	q	Clm. 22201	<i>pitulit</i> ¹

¹ *Pitulit* in the twelfth-century manuscript Clm. 22201 probably means 'deprived', as we shall see later. This privative meaning of OHG *bitullen* does not seem to have been recorded. 'Mit einem *tülle* versehen' (cf. M. Lexer 1.245 under *betüllen*) may easily develop into 'debar, deprive', as in the case of OE *betynan* and OE *belucan*. (*Tülle*—'wand od. zaun von brettern od. palisaden'. Cf. M. Lexer 2.1564.)

Multi non causa nequitiae non faenerati sunt, sed fraudari gratis timuerunt.

Vulgate 1899:

Many have refused to lend not out of wickedness, but they were afraid to be defrauded without cause.

A better translation of the second clause would be: 'but they feared to be deprived of (= without) it for nothing (i.e. without getting anything for it).'

It should be noted that all the examples thus far present the participial form of OHG *bi-teilen*.

§7. The glossing of Latin *privavit* in Genesis 30.2 is illuminating. In the eighth century the use of OHG *bi-teilen* would have been impossible. In the tenth century the verb is interchangeable with OHG *bi-skerien*.

Genesis 30.2: Num pro Deo ego sum, qui privavit te fructu ventris tui?

8 C. St-S 1.286.47: Codex Carolruh. Aug. IC: Priuabit *piskerit*

10 C. St-S 1.313.33: Fragmentum SPauli:

Qui priuauit *der piteilta*

Similar in character is Prudentius, Apotheosis 182:

Quandoquidem non est genitor, nisi filius extet,

Nec vocitare patrem potis es, quem germine fraudas.

11 C. St-S 2.457.4: Codex Parisinus Nouv. acquis. 241; Clm. 14395: Fraudas *piteilis*

OHG GLOSSES FOR LATIN *fraudare*

§8. Latin *fraudare* is glossed by at least eleven different Old High German verbs, which are given below in the chronological order of the manuscripts in which they first appear.

8 C. biskerien, biteilen

9 C. triogan, strutan, skadon, gihintran, firhintren

10 C. taron

11 C. widirwarton

12 C. bitullen, hintren

§9. The meaning 'to cheat' appears unmistakably in only one passage:

Act. Apostolorum 5.2: Vir autem quidam nomine Ananias cum Saphira uxore sua vendidit agrum et fraudavit de pretio agri, conscia uxore sua, et adferens partem quandam ad pedes apostolorum posuit.

St-S 1.743.19: *Fraudauit*, Act. Apost. 5.2:

c. 1070	a	Clm. 18140	virhintreta
10-11 C.	b	Clm. 19440	uirhintr&a
10 C.	c	Codex Vindob. 2723	uirhintr&a
10 C.	d	Codex Vindob. 2732	uirhintreta
12 C.	e	Codex Gotwic. 103	hintreta
12 C.	o	Clm. 22201	pitu lite

§10. The transition from 'cheat' to 'deprive' appears in the glosses to Jac. 5.4. Cf. Vulgata Jac. 5.4: *Ecce merces operariorum, qui mesuerunt regiones vestras, quae fraudata est a vobis clamat*

St-S 1.786.36: *Fraudatus*, Epistola Jacobi 5.4:

c. 1070	a	Clm. 18140	uirhintreter
10-11 C.	b	Clm. 19440	virhintra
10 C.	c	Codex Vindob. 2723	uirhintra
10 C.	d	Codex Vindob. 2732	virhintra
12 C.	e	Codex Gotwic. 103	uirhintrot
11 C.	g	Clm. 18530,1	virhintre ^{1a}
12 C.	p	Clm. 22201	pituli ter
10 C.	St-S 1.787.48: Codex Vindob. 1239: Epistola Jacobi 5.4: <i>Fraudati sunt pfskerit (= peskerit) uurten</i>		
c. 1000	Cf. Notker (Piper) 2.470.22: <i>Extranei a regno dei sint spiritus inmundi. fone dien habeta er mutuum die beteilen in alles kuotes.</i>		

§11. If with William Morris² we interpret *fraudo* Aen. 4. 355, as 'beguile', then we must assume an opposite development for OHG *biteilen*: 'deprive' > 'defraud'. The Latin gloss lends color to this assumption.

Aeneid 4. 355:

Me puer Ascanius capitisque iniuria cari,
Quem regno Hesperiae fraudo et fatalibus arvis.

William Morris 1910:

Ascanius weigheth on my heart with wrong of head so dear,
Whom I beguile of fateful fields and realm of Italy.

^{1a} The first *r* of this word appears as *n* in the printed text, obviously either a misprint or a scribal error.

² The *Æneids* of Virgil, done into English verse by William Morris; New York, Longmans, Green and Company, 1910.

- 12 C. St-S 2.697.12: Codex Mellicensis non signatus
Fraudo, defraudo. *biteilo* Aen. 4.355.

§12. The ambiguity of Latin *fraudare* appears from its sixfold glossing in 1 Cor. 7.5:

Nolite fraudare invicem, nisi forte ex consensu ad tempus, ut vacetis orationi.

It is a question of sexual intercourse.

triogan, gihintran, firhintren, biskerien, biteilen, widirwarton

'Defraud, deprive, deny, hinder, prevent, be hostile' are all possible.

Beginning St-S 2.236.27: Codex Carolsruh. Aug. CCXX:
of 9 C. Fraudare, denegare *triogan* (1 Cor. 7.5)

9 C. St-S 2.164.15: Clm. 6277: Fraudare *gihintran* (1 Cor. 7.5)

9 C. St-S 2.174.22: Clm. 6277: Fraudare .i. *varhintiren*
(1 Cor. 7.5)

Note that the last two glosses are from the same manuscript.

10-11 C. St-S 2.202.64: Codex SPauli xxv d/82
Noli fraudare *biscerigin* (1 Cor. 7.5)

12 C. St-S 2.213.64: Codex Selestadiensis
Nolite fraudare *piscerigin* (1 Cor. 7.5)

These two manuscripts go back to a common source from the eighth century, but the first was also used by the scribe of the second. Cf. A. Jacob, Die Glossen des Cod. SPauli d/82. 1897 pp. 38, 41.

St-S 2.182.9. Fraudari (1 Cor. 7.5):

- | | | | |
|----------|---|--------------------|---------------------|
| c. 1070 | a | Clm. 18140 | virhintritvuerdan |
| 10-11 C. | b | Clm. 19440 | virhintritvuerdan |
| 10 C. | c | Codex Vindob. 2723 | virhintritvued |
| 10 C. | d | Codex Vindob. 2732 | firhintritvuerd |
| 10 C. | f | Clm. 21525 | firhindran piteilan |

St-S 1.760.3. Fraudare 1 Cor. 7.5:

- | | | | |
|-------|---|--|------------------------|
| 11 C. | a | Codex Bruxell. 3641 | <i>uui dir uuarton</i> |
| 12 C. | b | Codex Stuttgart. theol. et phil. fol. 218 | <i>widerwarton</i> |
| 11 C. | | St-S 1.760.36. Codex Carolsruh. Aug. LXXXIII | |
| | | Fraudari <i>trivgan</i> | |

§13. Making its first appearance in the ninth century, OHG *firhintren* gains ground in the tenth, and becomes the favorite gloss for Latin

fraudare in the eleventh century. The colorless meaning 'deprive' prevails. In its passive form, it attains the earliest meaning of OHG *biteilit*: 'to lack'.

St-S 2.112.23. Fraudentur Conc. Antioch. CIII

- | | | | |
|----------|---|--------------------|-------------------|
| c. 1070 | a | Clm. 18140 | uirhintr&uverd |
| 10-11 C. | b | Clm. 19440 | uirhintr&uverdan |
| 10 C. | c | Codex Vindob. 2723 | uirhintritvuerdan |
| 10 C. | d | Codex Vindob. 2732 | uirhintritvuerd |
| 11 C. | h | Codex Vindob. 361 | firhinteretwerden |

Harduin 1.605: ita ut nullo qualibet occasione fraudentur

Hefele-Oxenham 2.73.§25 (1896): that they may lack nothing.

- 11 C. St-S 2.544.4: Codex comitum de Apponyi = London Add. 34248.

Prudentius Apoth. 1068:

vultus, vigor et color idem,

Qui modo vivit, erit; nec me vel dente vel ungue

Fraudatum revomet patefacti fossa sepulcri.

Fraudatum *firhintirtin*

In Prudentius, Contra Symm. 2.913, each of three meanings is possible: 'be defrauded', 'be deprived', 'lack'.

Vestales solitis fraudentur sumptibus ignes.

St-S 2.473.13: Fraudentur

- | | | | |
|-------|---|---|---------------------------|
| 11 C. | a | Codex Parisinus Nouv. acquis. lat. 241. | <i>firhintritvurtvn</i> |
| 11 C. | b | Clm. 14395 | <i>firhinrituurtun</i> |
| 11 C. | | St-S 2.550.64: Codex comitum de Apponyi | |
| | | Fraudentur | <i>firhintirit uurtin</i> |

§14. In Prudentius, P. Hippol. 146, OHG *biteilen* and OHG *firhintren* are synonymous:

Nec iam densa sacro quidquam de corpore silva

Obtinet aut plenis fraudat ab exequis.

St-S 2.438.35: Fraudat

- | | | | |
|-------|---|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 11 C. | a | Codex Parisinus Nouv. acquis. 241 | <i>uirhintreta</i> |
| 11 C. | b | Clm. 14395 | <i>piteilta uirhintreta</i> |

OHG *biteilen*, originally passive, and OHG *firhintren*, originally active, traversed the same road in opposite directions, the starting point of one becoming the goal of the other. They met in the center on common ground.

<i>biteilen</i>			
St-S 1.577.48; ³	↓	'lack'	St-S 2.112.23; ⁴
St-S 2.438.35; ⁵		'deprive'	St-S 2.438.35; ⁶
St-S 2.697.12; ⁷		'cheat'	↑ St-S 1.743.19; ⁸
			<i>firhintren</i>

§15. In three glosses the idea of injury is uppermost:

- St-S 1.229.18: *fraudat*
 10 C. Ra. Codex Carolusruh. Aug. CXI *tarot*
 9 C. R. Codex Vindobonensis 162 *fraudat strutit*
 St-S 1.763.6: 1 Cor. 6.8: Sed vos iniuriam facitis et fraudatis, et hoc fratribus.
 9 C. Codex Oxoniensis Jun. 25. *Fraudatis scadoet*

OHG GLOSSES FOR LATIN *priuare*

§16. Since OE *bescerian*, OHG *biskerien* refer primarily to non-material things, and since OE *bedæled*, OHG *biteilit* originally mean 'having no share, lacking, without', it is not surprising that in the eighth century neither Old High German word is found as a gloss for Latin *priuare* in the sense of depriving of possessions. Instead OHG *gisuntaron* is used:

- 8 C. St-S 2.308.64: Codex Carolusruh. Aug. IC:
Priuetur ist kasuntarot Gregorii Homiliae 1.9.p.1466
 Migne 76.1109 A: *talento quod acceperat priuatur*

In the following example, however, OHG *biskerit* might very well have been used.

- 8 C. St-S 2.309.29: Codex Carolusruh. Aug. IC.
Priuaretur uuari kasuntarot Gregorii Homiliae 1.10.p.1469
 Migne 76.1111 C: Sed nativitate Regis nostri cognita, Herodes ad callida argumenta convertitur, ne terreno regno privaretur.

³ Cf. p. 15 above.

⁴ Cf. p. 19 above.

⁵ Cf. p. 19 above.

⁶ Cf. p. 19 above.

⁷ Cf. p. 18 above.

⁸ Cf. p. 17 above.

§17. In the interlinear version of the Benediktinerregel 232.14 the fundamental idea of OHG *biteilit*, 'having no share', is manifest.

c. 802 Benediktinerregel 232.14: Si quis tamen frater
in ringirom teilnumft
in leuioribus culpis inuenitur! a mense participatione
piteilit si piteilte kinozsceffi
priuetur; Priuati autem a mense consortio!

§18. In the course of the ninth century OHG *biteilen* emerges as a true verb:

St-S 1.229.16:

- 9 C. R = Codex Vindobonensis 162 Priuat *piteilit*
10 C. Ra = Codex Carolsruh. Aug. CXI Priuat *pilosit*
9 C. Glossae Affatim Codex Oxoniensis Jun. 25.
St-S 4.13.62: Priuat *piteilit. hilit*
St-S 4.15.36: Priuari *kifremidan*

§19. Whatever the connotation of the verb may have been in these three examples, the noun *biteilida* connotes a deprivation of property:

Canones. Conc. Ancy. XXV

Harduin 1.274.5 (Dionysius Exiguus): De his qui minis tantum cessere poenarum, aut privatione facultatum terri, aut demigratione, sacrificaverunt.

Hefele-Clark 1.207 Can. 6: as to those who yielded on the first threat of punishment and of the confiscation of their property, or of exile, and who have sacrificed.

St-S 2.99.7: Priuatione Conc. Ancy. XXV

- 10-11 C. a Clm. 19440 pitelida. odonaama
10 C. b Clm. 14747 piteilida. odo nama
9 C. c Clm. 19417 piteilida odonama
10 C. d Clm. 14407 bitæilida
St-S 4.322.16 = e:
9 C. e Codex musei Salisburgensis piteilida. odonaama
St-S 2.109.24: Priuatione Conc. Ancy. XXV
11 C. a Clm. 18140 piteilida. † naama
11 C. h Codex Vindob. 361 piteiliti

§20. The non-material character of the things with *biskerien* is patent in the following three examples from the tenth century:

- 10 C. Canones. Conc. Antioch. I: Codex Wirziburgensis Mp. th.f.146:

St-S 2.92.6: Priuari separari & *bisgerit uuese*

Harduin 1.594: Depositos autem, etiam honore qui extrinsecus est privari oportet, quem sanctus canon & Dei sacerdotium promeruit.

St-S 2.92.18: Priuari *bisgerit uuese enti biteilit uuese*

Harduin 1.598: Quod si quis praevaricari ausus fuerit constituta, depōni eum, & dignitate qua praeditus est debere privari.

St-S 2.135.19: Canones. Dec. Symmachi I: Clm. 6242
Priuetur *piscerit uerda*

Harduin 2.959: loci sui dignitate atque communione privetur.

The second of these examples seems to show that OHG *biskerien* and OHG *biteilen* have become synonymous. But the conjunction *enti* would imply a difference in connotation. The social connotation of *biteilen* may still have been felt, and we may translate: 'If anyone dares to infringe these rules, he shall be cut off from and have no share in his dignity.'

§21. The social connotation of OHG *biteilen* is still manifest in Notker's commentary on Boethius. It finds Old English parallels in two passages of Notker's contemporary Wulfstan.⁹

c. 1000 Notker, Werke 1933 1.43.5 (= Piper 1.38.5):

Insontes autem. non modo priuatos securitate. uerum etiam ipsa defensione. *Unsendige allero sichurheite beteilte. unde ioh allero antseido.*

§22. Both OE *bescerian* and OE *bedælan* have in some instances the connotation 'withhold'.¹⁰ But OE *bedælan*, like OHG *biteilen*, does not seem to have attained the status of a verb until the second half of the ninth century. Accordingly we find in Psalm 83.13 (= 84.11, Revised Version) Latin *privabit* glossed by OE *bis(c)ered* in the Vespasian Psalter, which dates from the beginning of the ninth century, while the Paris Psalter, which dates from the end of the ninth century or the beginning of the tenth, uses *bedælan*.¹¹ Notker, who died in 1022, uses *beteilen*.

c. 1000 Notker (Piper) 2.349.20, Ps. 83.13: Non priuabit bonis ambulantes in innocentia. *Cuotes nebeteilet er unsundige.*

⁹ Wulfstan 157.19, and 243.13. Cf. p. 65 below.

¹⁰ Cf. p. 57 below.

¹¹ Cf. pp. 60-1 below.

§23. The reflexive verb OHG *biteilen* in the following two examples has the colorless meaning 'deprive one's self'. Corresponding Old English passages use *bescerian* or *bereafian*.

- St-S 2.290.39: Gregorii Homiliae 1.17.p.1499
 11 C. a Clm. 18140 Priuat *piteilit*
 10-11 C. c Clm. 19440 p. 190 sqq. Priuat *piteilit*
 Migne 76.1142 A: Quisquis namque ideo prædicat ut hic vel laudis vel muneris mercedem recipiat, æterna procul dubio mercede se privat.
 994 Cf. Ælfric, Homilies 2.534.34: Soðlice swa hwa swa bodað forði þæt he her oððe mede oððe herunge underfo, buton twyn he *bescyrað* hine sylfne fram ðære ecan mede.
 Gregorii Cura Pastoralis 1.5.p.6.
 10-11 C. St-S 2.201.28, Codex SPauli xxv d/82: Priuant *biteilint*
 12 C. St-S 2.214.30. Codex Selestadiensis: Priuant *biteilint*.
 Migne 77.18 C-D: Cumque sua et non aliorum luera cogitant, ipsis se, quæ privata habere appetunt, bonis privant.
 c. 893 Cf. CP 40.23-42.1: Ðonne hie synderlice ðenceað hu hie selfe scylen fulfremedeste weorðan, & ne gimað to hwon oðerra monna wise weorðe, mid ðy hie *bereafiað* hie selfe ðara goda þe hie wilniað synderlice habban.

In Canones, Conc. Afric. LIV, the addition of a reflexive pronoun has changed the construction and meaning of Latin *pruare*. The object of the verb is no longer the person deprived, but the person taken away. The Old High German gloss has changed accordingly. Note that in the printed edition of 1661 and in Harduin, Latin *priuēt* is replaced by *praeripiat*.

- Harduin 1.890.54: ut clericum alienum nullus sibi *praeripiat* episcopus, præter ejus arbitrium, cujus fuerit clericus.
 St-S 2.103.73: Priuet. subtrahet.
 10-11 C. a Clm. 19440 odo suntrigo imoualge¹²
 10 C. b Clm. 14747 odo suntrigor imoualge
 9 C. c Clm. 19417 odo suntrigor imoualge
 9 C. St-S 2.143.1: Codex Lipsiensis civ. Rep. II.A.6.
 Priuet *eginigo*

¹² Cf. Wilhelm Braune, Ahd. Lesebuch (9th ed.), 1928, p. 228: *felgen* (*falgjan*) . . . für sich (dat.) etwas beanspruchen.

Note that the glossator St-S 2.103.73 expresses the separative meaning of *Priuet* by OHG *suntrigor*.

§24. There are therefore at least eight different Old High German glosses for Latin *priuare*, which are given below in the chronological order of the manuscripts in which they first appeared.

- 8 C. biskerien (St-S 1.286.47)
 gasuntaron (St-S 2.308.64, 309.29)
 9 C. biteilen (Benediktinerregel 232.14)
 helan (St-S 4.13.62)
 kifremidan (St-S 4.15.36)
 suntrigor imo felgen (St-S 2.103.73)
 eiginigon (St-S 2.143.1)
 10 C. bilosen (St-S 1.229.16)

§25. Latin *fraudare* was glossed by eleven different Old High German verbs,¹³ of which only two (*biskerien* and *biteilen*) agree with those for Latin *priuare*. Thus a fundamental difference in meaning between the two Latin verbs is disclosed:

priuare —separation
fraudare—fraud and injury

LATIN *priuatus*

§26. In the discussion thus far, the Latin adjectival participle *priuatus* has been ignored. This participle is represented by a host of Old High German glosses, but with the exception of one group, which is closely allied to our subject, they need not concern us. For there is no idea of deprivation in Latin *priuatus*, simply that of separateness.

- St-S 2.165.44: Gregorii Cura Pastoralis 2.8.p.28.
 9 C. Clm. 6277 Dum priuato (amore) *dennepisceritero*
 Migne 77.43 B: quia rectores boni dum privato diligere
 amore se nesciunt
 St-S 2.312.17: Gregorii Homiliae 1.17. p. 1498
 8 C. Codex Carolsruh. Aug. IC Priuatum *kisuntarotan*
 Migne 76.1140 C: Quod tunc bene Rector exhibet, cum
 seipsum diligere per amorem privatum nescit
 St-S 2.51.58: Sancti Benedicti Regula 71
 9 C. Codex Oxoniensis Jun. 25: Priuata *kiskerita ersuntrot*
 Migne 66.923 C: cui non permittimus privata imperia
 præponi

¹³ Cf. p. 16 above.

The fundamental idea of separation (cutting off, sundering) is expressed by the two stems. The three prefixes (*pi-*, *ki-*, *er-*) seem to add the idea of accomplishment. No privative idea is present.

OHG GLOSSES FOR LATIN *frustrare*

§27. The fundamental meaning of Latin *frustrare* is deception. This is most commonly glossed by OHG *triogan* and *bitriogan*, equivalents even to the present day. OHG *biskerien* occurs only twice, and OHG *biteilen* only once, as a gloss for Latin *frustrare*.

§28. OHG *biteilen* very properly does not appear until the eleventh century, when it had become synonymous with OHG *firhintren*.¹⁴ The passage in question is parallel to St-S 2.697.12,¹⁵ and St-S 2.438.35.¹⁶

11 C. St-S 2.757.53: Clm. 18547,2. Frustrare *pltgllcn* (= *piteillan*)
Gregorii Turon. Hist. Francorum 1.718^a: sed Deus omnipotens noluit vrbem Turonicam proprio frustrare patrono.

§29. Unfortunately the sources of the lemmata glossed by OHG *biskerien* are not determined.

St-S 2.316.1: Frustratur

9 C. a Codex Oxoniensis Jun. 25: *piskerit ist*

8 C. b Codex Carolsruh. Aug. IC: *ist piskerit*

11-12 C. St-S 4.202.40: Codex seminarii Trevirensis R.3.13:

Frustor¹⁷, *bisceriū*.

Of the Old High German glosses for Latin *priuare*, *biskerien* is most closely allied in meaning to *gisuntaron*.¹⁸ OHG *gisuntaron* once glosses Latin *frustrare*. This may throw some light on the meaning of OHG *biskerien* as a gloss for Latin *frustrare*.

8 C. St-S 1.511.30: Codex Carolsruh. Aug. IC Job 40.28.

Frustrabitur *ist kisuntarot*

Ecce spes eius frustrabitur eum,

et videntibus cunctis praecipitabitur.

Behold his hope shall fail him,

and in the sight of all he shall be cast down.

¹⁴ Cf. p. 19 above.

¹⁵ Page 18 above.

¹⁶ Page 19 above.

¹⁷ Read *frustror* (so St-S ftn.).

¹⁸ Cf. pp. 20 and 24 above.

§30. In two other manuscripts *frustrabitur* in Job 40.28 is glossed by forms of OHG *bitriogan*:

- 9 C. St-S 1.507.40: Clm. 6225: *Frustrabitur pitriugit*
 11 C. St-S 1.509.30: Codex Carolruh. SPetri.
Frustrabitur bidroganuuerthit

These give us a literal translation, the former a free one.

§31. In view of *Frustor* St-S 4.202.40¹⁹ and in view of the fact that the deponent *frustrabitur* is translated by a passive form, one might be tempted to suppose that the glossators had confused Latin *frustrare* with Latin *frustare*, especially since these two verbs have been confused. Cf. Thesaurus Linguae Latinae 6.1429 and CGL 6.472. But Latin *frustatus* is glossed by Latin *conscissus* CGL 4.323.20, 345.18; *frustare* by *stuck macken, zerteylen* in Du Cange Supplement. These meanings would hardly fit OHG *biskerien*.

OHG GLOSSES FOR LATIN *defraudare*

§32. Where Latin *defraudare* is glossed by OHG *biteilen*, it seems to have the colorless meaning 'deprive.'

St-S 1.567.43: Ne defraudes Ecclesiasticus 7.23:

- | | | | |
|----------|---|--------------------|------------|
| c. 1070 | a | Clm. 18140 | nipiteiles |
| 10-11 C. | b | Clm. 19440 | nipiteiles |
| 10 C. | c | Codex Vindob. 2723 | piteiles |
| 10 C. | d | Codex Vindob. 2732 | pitelles |
| 12 C. | e | Codex Gotwic. 103 | piteiles |
| 12 C. | f | Clm. 13002 | piteilis |
| 10 C. | o | Clm. 18036 | piteiles |
| 12 C. | q | Clm. 22201 | pitrugist |
| 13 C. | r | Clm. 17403 | piteilis |

Servus sensatus sit tibi dilectus quasi anima tua, non defraudes illum libertate neque inopem derelinquas illum.

St-S 1.570.66: Defrauderis Ecclesiasticus 14.14:

- | | | | |
|----------|---|--------------------|------------------|
| c. 1070 | a | Clm. 18140 | piteilit |
| 10-11 C. | b | Clm. 19440 | piteilit |
| 10 C. | c | Codex Vindob. 2723 | piteilit |
| 10 C. | d | Codex Vindob. 2732 | piteilit vuirdis |
| 12 C. | e | Codex Gotwic. 103 | piteillist |

¹⁹ Cf. p. 25 above.

12 C.	f	Clm. 13002	firteilst
10 C.	o	Clm. 18036	piteil
12 C.	q	Clm. 22201	giteilst
13 C.	r	Clm. 17403	firteilst

Non defrauderis a die bono

et particula boni doni non te praetereat.

St-S 1.580.39: Defraudabitur Ecclesiasticus 37.23:

c. 1070	a	Clm. 18140	piteilit ^{uvirdit}
10–11 C.	b	Clm. 19440	piteilitvuiridit
10 C.	c	Codex Vindob. 2723	piteilitvuiridit
10 C.	d	Codex Vindob. 2732	piteilitvuiridit
12 C.	e	Codex Gotwic. 103	piteilituuiridit
12 C.	q	Clm. 22201	pitultitwirt

Qui sophisticè loquitur odibilis est,
in omni re defraudabitur

He that speaketh sophistically, is hateful:
he shall be destitute of every thing.

The English translator of the Latin Vulgate has furnished an excellent equivalent of the Old High German adjectival participle: 'destitute'. In Ecclesiasticus 14.14, the preceding example, we might well translate: 'Be not without a share in a good day.'

Note again the use of OHG *bitullen*, so characteristic of Clm. 22201. Cf. St-S 1.577.48²⁰; 743.19²¹; 786.36²².

§33. Where the idea of fraud is prominent, OHG *biteilen* is not used to gloss Latin *defraudare*.

St-S 1.565.29: Defraudes Ecclesiasticus 4.1:

c. 1070	a	Clm. 18140	virhintres
10–11 C.	b	Clm. 19440	virhintres
10 C.	c	Codex Vindob. 2723	virhintres
10 C.	d	Codex Vindob. 2732	firhintres
12 C.	e	Codex Gotwic. 103	uirhintres
11–12 C.	g	Clm. 14689	firhintrist
12 C.	q	Clm. 22201	pitrugest

Fili, elemosynam pauperis ne defraudes et oculos tuos ne
transvertas a paupere.

²⁰ Page 15 above.

²¹ Page 17 above.

²² Page 17 above.

OHG *bilirnen*

§34. *Defraudare* is once glossed by OHG *bilirnen*:

9 C. St-S 1.820.33: Luc. 19.8: Folium Mellicense.

Defraudaui *ih pilirnetā*

si quid aliquem defraudavi, reddo quadruplum.

This seems to be the only occurrence of OHG *bilirnen*, which is not recorded in Graff nor in Schade.

OHG GLOSSES FOR LATIN *proscribere*

§35. Latin *proscribere* seems to occur in but one passage: Canones apostolorum XL:

Harduin 1.37: Et justum est hoc apud Deum & homines, ut nec ecclesia detrimentum patiatur ignoratione rerum pontificis, nec episcopus vel ejus propinqui obtentu ecclesiæ *proscribantur*, & in causas incident qui ad eum pertinent, morsque ejus injuriis malæ famæ subiaceat.

Hefele-Oxenham 2.73, §24: For it is right and well-pleasing to God and man (that the bishop's private property be left to whom he will, but the property of the Church preserved to her), that neither may the Church suffer wrong, nor the bishop lose anything on pretext of benefiting her, or his relations be involved in lawsuits, and he himself be exposed to being evil spoken of after his death.

Proscribere is glossed by three different Old High German verbs: *biteilen*, *firteilen*, *firwifen*.

9 C. St-S 2.144.59, Codex Francofurt. 64:

Proscribantur *biteli* <*t*> *uuerdān*

St-S 2.106.29: Proscribantur:

c. 1070	a	Cm. 18140	piteilitvuerd
10-11 C.	b	Cm. 19440	piteilitvuerden
10 C.	c	Codex Vindob. 2723	piteilitvuerden
10 C.	d	Codex Vindob. 2732	piteilitvuerden
11 C.	h	Codex Vindob. 361	firtelitwerdan

9-10 C. St-S 2.138.9, Codex SGalli 299:

Proscribantur *firuuif* & *uuerden*

12 C. St-S 2.139.64, Codex Selestadiensis:

Proscribantur *firwiffit* werden

The context shows that *proscribantur* means 'should be deprived of property.' Since it refers to material things, OHG *biskerien* would be out of place.

OHG *firwifen*

§36. OHG *firwifen* is not recorded in Graff nor in Schade. Notker uses *biwifan*, a strong participle, twice:

c. 1000 Notker (Piper) 1.73.1 = Werke 1933 1.81.22:

Sed miseris est altior sensus malorum. Aber beuuifenen
ist mer . daz in analiget. Sie infindent mer iro leides.

Notker (Piper) 2.470.3: Psalm 108.7: Cum iudicatur exeat
condemnatus. So er in iudicium chome. dannan fare
er beuuiffener in tenebras exteriores.

§37. The Lex Baiwariorum, written before 749,²³ contains the Old High German noun *uuiiffun* in the sense of 'Markzeichen von Grundstücken, Strohwichsch':

Before Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Legum Sectio I, Tomus V,
749 Pars II (1926); Lex Baiwariorum 393.6: Qui autem signum
quod propter defensionem ponitur aut iniustum iter
excludendum vel pascendum vel campum defendendum vel
applicandum secundum morem antiquum, quod signum
uuiiffun vocamus, abstulerit vel iniuste reciderit, cum I
solido conponat.

§38. In the laws of Liutprand a Latin verb is made of the Old High German stem:

Edicta Regum Langobardorum 1855 p.149.6: Si quis ex sua auctori-
tate terra aliena sini puplico *wifaverit*, dicendo quod sua debeat
esse, et postea non potuerit probare quod sua sit, conponat solidos
sex, quomodo qui palum in terra alterius figit.

The last clause explains the meaning of the verb.

§39. The following extract from a law of Louis the Pious contains both the verb *wifare* 'to attach property' and the noun *wifa*, the symbol of the attachment.

Petrus Georgisch, Corpus Juris Germanici Antiqui 1209,
(1738):

9 C. Nam si iterum contemtores existant, tunc per publicam
auctoritatem domus vel casae eorum *wifentur*, quousque
pro ipsa decima, sicut supra dictum est, satisfaciant.
Quod si denuo rebelles vel contradictores esse voluerint, &

²³ Cf. Heinrich Brunner, Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte (2nd ed.) 1.460; Leipzig, 1906.

super ipsam *wifam* sua auctoritate praesumserint introire, tunc a Ministris Regis in custodiam mittantur, vsque dum ad iudicium publicum perducantur.²⁴

§40. In view of the last example especially, OHG *firwifit*, which refers to a person, would seem to mean one whose property was confiscated. Notker's *bewifener* 'miser, condemnatus' seems closely allied.

LATIN *de <uo>ratores, extraneus, extorris, alienus, deditos*,
GLOSSED BY OHG *biskerit*

§41. However incongruous this group may seem, the fundamental meaning, expressed by the OHG gloss *biskerit*, is the same for all: 'a man cut off from his home'. He may have been disinherited. He may be an exile, a captive, a slave.

§42. The earliest meaning of West Germanic **biskarjan* was probably 'to disinherit'. Cf. Erfurt Glossary 341.1.²⁵ It is found in the earliest Old High German manuscripts.

St-S 1.124-125.19-23:

8-9 C.	Codex Parisinus 7640		8 C. Codex SGalli 911	
19	Extorris	pigangeo	Extores	pikenkeo
20	expulsus	fartripan	expulsus	firtriban
21	patria	fat*arpes	patria	fatarerpes
22	alienus	tharpo	alienus	tharpo
23	uel exthreus	edo anu	uel extraneus	edho ano
		pisgerito		edho pi- scerito

§43. *Patria alienus uel extraneus fatarerpes tharpo edho ano edho piscerito* 'deprived of one's patrimony' corresponds to Erfurt Glossary CGL 5.341.1: Abdicauit *bisceridae*. Cf. 343.28 Abdicat *exheredat*. Cf. also CGL 5.455.8: Extorrem *exheredatum alienum*. But *extorris* is also glossed by *expulsus fartripan* 'exile', its most common meaning,²⁶ and by *pigangeo* 'a tiller of the soil', hence in this case probably 'a slave'.

§44. A *pigangeo* is not necessarily a slave. In Gregory's Homily 2.31, p. 1583, *pigengo* glosses Latin *cultor*, applied to the apostle Peter: 8 C. St-S 2.315.6, Codex Carolsruh. Aug. IC: *Cultor pigengo*.

²⁴ Cf. Jacob Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer* (4th ed.) 1. 270; Leipzig, 1899.

²⁵ Page 59 below.

²⁶ Cf. CGL 4.67.10, 236.18, 340.2, 441.33, 514.34-5-6, 5.421.46, 430.28, 455.7.

Migne 76.1229 A: Quid vero per cultorem vineæ, nisi præpositorum ordo exprimitur? Qui dum præsumt Ecclesiæ, nimirum dominicæ vineæ curam gerunt. Hujus enim vineæ primus *cultor* Petrus apostolus exstitit.

§45. The meaning 'exile' appears in several glosses.

St-S 4.26.7, Glossae Abavus Maior:

9 C. Clm. 14804 Extorris! exiliatus patria alienus. uel extraneus et qui ex(p)ulet²⁷ terrore solo patria eiectus *vztrippo*

St-S 2.23.4, Aldhelmus, De Octo Principalibus Vitiis:

10-11 C. a = Clm. 19440 Extorris *arerdeo. t. rechun*

13 C. d = Codex Florentinus XVI, 5. Extorris *urermerhites*

For *urermerhites* Steinmeyer suggests the reading *uzermerhites*,²⁸ but the original form may be retained if we connect the word with OHG *erdmarcha* 'territorium'. Cf. Graff 2.848.

11 C. St-S 2.471.44, Prudentius Contra Symm. 2.537:

a = Codex Parisinus Nouv. acquis. 241: b = Clm. 14395:

Extorris (ordo), exterris. *recchun*

Non armata Venus, non tunc clypeata Minerva

Venere auxilio, non divum degener ordo

Et patria extorris Romanis adfuit armis.

St-S 4.59.53, Glossae Salomonis:

12 C. c Clm. 22201 Extorris *recho*

12 C. d Clm. 13002 Extorris *recho*

13 C. e Clm. 17403 Extorris *recho*

11 C. f Codex Admont. 3 Extorris *recho*

13 C. g Codex musei bohemicus Pragensis Extorris *recche*

§46. In the following example Latin *extorris* 'disinherited' is glossed more directly by OHG *biskerit*.

12 C. St-S 2.153.12, Cassianus, Inst. V.38.p.259:

Codex Selestadiensis: Extorris alienus. *bis^herit*

Migne 49.259 B: Cumque hic esset omni inquietudine penitus alienus, utpote qui universis paternis facultatibus esset extorris, a creditoribus tamen inquietari vehementer comperit matrem.

²⁷ Read *exulet* (so St-S 4.26, ftn. 3).

²⁸ St-S 2.23, footnote 3.

Edgar C. S. Gibson 1894: And though he himself was entirely free from all annoyances, since he had been disinherited of all his father's property, yet he found that his mother was excessively annoyed by the creditors.

§47. The following glosses seem allied to the foregoing in character, but are difficult of interpretation:

St-S 1.16-17.1-5:

	Codex Parisinus 7640 = Pa. 8-9 C.	Codex SGalli 911 = Gl.K. 8 C.	Codex Carolsruh. Aug.CXI = Ra 10 C.	Codex Vindob. 162 = R 9 C.
1	Ambro <i>pinoman</i>	Abro <i>pinoman</i>	Ambro <i>pinoman</i>	Ambro <i>guila</i>
2	consumptor <i>pifangan</i>	consuntor <i>pifangan</i>	consumptor	consu : mere <i>farneman</i>
3	patrimonii <i>frat' arbes</i> ²⁹	patrimonii <i>fater arbes</i>	patrimonio	consummare <i>kaenteon</i>
4	Ambrones <i>pifangane</i>	Ambrones <i>bifangane</i>	Ambrones <i>pifangane</i>	Ambrone <i>kitake</i>
5	deratores <i>piscarite</i>	deratores <i>piscarite</i>	detractores <i>bisprechare</i>	

§48. Anyone who will glance at the Latin glosses for *ambrones* in the Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum will recognize at once that *deratores* (line 5) should read *deuoratores*. Traube pointed this out in 1891.³⁰ But the Old High German glossators could make nothing of the word. Ra substituted *detractores*; R left it out altogether.

§49. Besides *deuorator*, an early gloss for *Ambro* was *decoctor* 'one who has squandered his own or another's property, a ruined spendthrift, bankrupt.' OHG *binoman fater arbes* and *biscarit* would well describe such an individual.

8-9 C. CGL 4.483.1, Glossae Affatim: Ambro decoctor

8-9 C. CGL 5.166.1, Placidus Libri Glossarum: Ambro decoctor
aut profusus

9 C. CGL 4.16.11, Codex Paris. 2341: Ambro decoctor et profusus

§50. R gives the most common meaning of *Ambrones*: *kitake* 'greedy, gluttons, *ganeones*, *lurcones*'. This meaning is found in the Glossae Salomonis:

²⁹ The raised *s* is a compendium representing *er*.

³⁰ Abhandlungen d. bayr. Akad. I Cl. XIX Bd. II Abth. p. 391.

St-S 4.32.33:

- 13 C. a Codex Zwettl. 1 Ambro *vil urezo*
 12 C. c Clm. 22201 - Ambro *vilvrezziger*
 12 C. St-S 4.32.35: Clm. 22201. Ambrones *vilvrezze*
 13 C. St-S 4.130.8: Codex musei Britannici Add. 18379 Ambro,
vilevrezzo

§51. Another meaning of *Ambrones* appears in Clm. 14747:

- 10 C. St-S 1.801.19: Ambro *pinoman manpizzo*

Two Latin glosses seem to indicate that *manpizzo* means 'cannibal':

- 8-9 C. CGL 5.166.20: Anbrones deuoratores hominum
 9 C. CGL 5.583.5: Ambro *luxuriosus profusus consumptor siue*
deuorator hominum

Cf. Du Cange Supplement (1857) p. 29:

Ambrones lude de den menschen etet

In manuscripts of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the words *wolfbizo* and *stainpiz* occur:

- 13 C. St-S 3.79.55: Heinrici Summarium, Codex Trevirensis 31:
Liciscus wolfbizo ex lupo et cane matre

- 12, 13, 15 C. Cf. St-S 3.80.46.

- 13 C. St-S 3.361.51, Codex Admont. 249: Saxatilis *stainpiz*

Manpizzo would seem to be analogous to *stainpiz* 'a fish that bites the rock', which is also called *cruntlacha* St-S 3.455.35 and *grunde* St-S 3.456.32, 4.191.17.

LATIN *deditos*

§52. In a single passage OHG *piscerite* appears as a gloss for Latin *deditos*:

St-S 2.297.17, Gregorii Homiliae 2.22.p.1533: *Deditos*

- c. 1070 a Clm. 18140 *piscerite*
 10-11 C. c Clm. 19440 p. 190 sqq. *piscerite*
 10 C. e Codex Vindob. 2723 *piscerite*
 10 C. f Codex Vindob. 2732 *gigiphta*

Migne 76.1177 C: *Neque etenim infideles quosque, et pro suis criminibus æternis suppliciis deditos, ad veniam Dominus resurgendo reparavit.*

Graff 6.532-3 places the word under *biscerian* 'derivare, disponere' and also, with a question mark, under *biscerjan* 'privare, fraudare'. It surely belongs to the latter. However, it will be necessary to consider

all the Old High German glosses for Latin *dedo*, *deditus*, *deditio*, et cetera, to reach a just conclusion. These Latin words are glossed, in some

Literal

- 11 C. St-S 2.401.16. Prudentius, H.a.cibum 107:
 Usibus omnia dedo tuis
 Codex Pragensis VIII H 4: Dedo *argipo*
 St-S 2.415.35. Prudentius, H.a.cibum 107:
- 11 C. a Codex Parisinus Nouv. acquis. 241: Dedo *argipo*
 11 C. b Clm. 14395: Dedo *argipo*
 St-S 4.52.45. Glossae Salomonis:
- 13 C. a Codex Zwettl. 1: Dedo *argipo*
 14 C. b Codex Vindob. 2276: Dedo *Argipo*
 12 C. c Clm. 22201: Dedo *ichergibo*
 12 C. d Clm. 13002: Dedo *ichirgibe*
 13 C. e Clm. 17403: Dedo *ichirgibe*
 11 C. f Codex Admont. 3: Dedo *ich irgibe*
 13 C. g Codex musei bohemicus Pragensis: Dedo *ich irgibe*
 12 C. i Clm. 17152: Dedo *argipo*
 1472 k Liber impressus: Dedo *argipo*
 to
 1474?

cases, literally; in others, more freely; sometimes both literally and freely.

Free

- 13 C. St-S 2.535.1. Prudentius, H.a.cibum 107:
 Usibus omnia dedo tuis
 Codex Florentinus XVI, 5: Dedo *geichon*

St-S 2.471.33. Prudentius, Contra Symm. 2.495:

Venatrix Ephesum virgo, Mars deditit Hebrum.

- 11 C. a Codex Parisinus Nouv. acquis. 241: Deditit *gigisti*

- 11 C. b Clm. 14395: Deditit *gigisti*

St-S 2.747.10: Vita Martini 1.p.110.10:

Plerique mortales studio et gloriae saeculari inaniter
 dediti exinde perennem, ut putabant, memoriam nomi-
 nis sui quaesierunt, si uitas clarorum uirorum stilo
 inlustrassent.

- 11 C. Clm. 18547,2: Dediti plmglnta (= pimeinta)

Literal

- St-S 1.700.21. Macc. 2.4.14: ita ut sacerdotes iam non
circa altaris officia dediti essent
- 12 C. o Clm. 22201: Dediti *irgebini*
-
- 8-9 C. St-S 1.104.14: Codex Parisinus 7640: Deditus *farkepan*
- 8-9 C. St-S 1.104.18: Codex Parisinus 7640: Dedita *farkepan*
- St-S 2.112.69: Conc. Laod. CXXVII:
Harduin 1.785.XXIV: Quod non oporteat sacro ministerio
deditos, a presbyteris usque ad diaconos . . . ingredi
tabernas.
- c. 1070 a Clm. 18140: Deditos *gigifta*
- 10-11 C. b Clm. 19440: Deditos *gigifta*
- 10 C. c Codex Vindob. 2723: Deditos *gigifta*
- 10 C. d Codex Vindob. 2732: Deditos *gigiphta*
-
- St-S 2.297.17, Gregorii Homiliae 2.22.p.1533:
Migne 76.1177 C: aeternis suppliciis deditos
- 10 C. f Codex Vindob. 2732: Deditos *gigiphta*

Free

St-S 1.700.21. Macc. 2.4.14: ita ut sacerdotes iam non
circa altaris officia dediti essent

- c. 1070 a Clm. 18140: Dediti *iliga*
- 10–11 C. b Clm. 19440: Dediti *iliga*
- 10 C. c Codex Vindob. 2723: Dediti *iliga*
- 10 C. d Codex Vindob. 2732: Dediti *iliga*
- 12 C. e Codex Gotwic. 103: Dediti *iliga*
- 11–12 C. g. Clm. 14689: Dediti *iligi*

St-S 2.112.69: Conc. Laod. CXXVII:

Harduin 1.785.XXIV: Quod non oporteat sacro ministerio
deditos, a presbyteris usque ad diaconos . . . ingredi
tabernas

- 11 C. h Codex Vindob. 361: Deditos *gegiste*

St-S 2.467.55, Prudentius, Contra Symm. 1.335:

Hic erit ergo Deus praescriptis lege sub una
Deditus officiis?

- 11 C. a Codex Parisinus Nouv. acquis. 241: Deditus *gigister*
- 11 C. b Clm. 14395: Deditus *gigister*

St-S 2.297.17, Gregorii Homiliae 2.22.p.1533:

Migne 76.1177 C: aeternis suppliciis deditos

- c. 1070 a Clm. 18140: Deditos *piscerite*
- 10–11 C. c Clm. 19440 p. 190 sqq: Deditos *piscerite*
- 10 C. e Codex Vindob. 2723: Deditos *piscerite*

Literal

- 12 C. St-S 2.358.3: Orosius 7.28.p.539:
Codex Selestadiensis: Deditio *zurgift*
Migne 31.1136 A: Licinium crebris bellis terra marique
assurgentem et repressum, tandem ad deditionem coegit

Free

- 10 C. St-S 2.333.52: Hieronymus In Matthaeum (15.25,26) 114:
Clm. 14747: Dediti *kauatote*
Migne 26.114 B: Canes autem ethnici propter idololatrium dicuntur, qui esui sanguinis dediti, et cadaveribus mortuorum, feruntur in rabiem.
- 9 C. St-S 2.344.51: Isidorus De Officiis 2.8.p.428 (1 Tim. 3.8)
Clm. 6325: Deditos *keronte*
Diaconos similiter pudicos, non bilingues, non multo vino deditos, non turpe lucrum sectantes
- St-S 2.450.51: Prudentius P. Rom. 374
O mersa limo caecitas gentilium,
O carnulenta nationum pectora,
O spissus error, o tenebrosum genus,
Terris amicum, deditum cadaveri,
Subiecta semper intuens, nunquam supra!
- 11 C. a Codex Parisinus Nouv. acquis. 241: Deditum *frahhun*
- 11 C. b Clm. 14395: Deditum *frahhun*
- †1022 Notker, Werke 1933 1.341.21 = Notker (Piper) 1.313.2:
Extrema uero seruitus est. cum dedite uitii. ceciderint possessione proprie rationis. Taz ist tiu gnotista scalhheit. so sie *uerrâchene* an die sunda. aba iro uuis-tuome gegant.
- Prudentius Psych. 340:
Et iam cuncta acies in deditionis amorem
Sponte sua versis transibat perfida signis
- 11 C. St-S 2.546.80: Codex comitum de Apponyi:
Deditionis *firrachini*
- St-S 2.464.1: Dedicionis *zurgisti*
- 11 C. a Codex Parisinus Nouv. acquis. 241.
- 11 C. b Clm. 14395
- St-S 2.357.52: Orosius 7.28.p.539:
- 9-10 C. Codex SGalli 299: Deditio *zurgist*
Migne 31.1136 A: Licinium crebris bellis terra marique assurgentem et repressum, tandem ad deditionem coegit

Literal

- St-S 4.240.10:
 13 C. Codex Oenipontanus 711: Dedicio *zurgifl*
 St-S 4.241.16:
 12 C. Codex Selestadiensis: Deditio *zurgift*
- St-S 2.612.12: Sallustius Jug. 26. p.257.10:
 12 C. Codex monasterii heremitarum 303:
 Deditionem fecit *ergabsich*
- St-S 2.612.21: Sallustius Jug. 29. p.261.1:
 12 C. Codex monasterii heremitarum 303:
 In deditionem accipitur *ergabsich*
- St-S 2.612.25: Sallustius Jug. 31.p.265.12:
 12 C. Codex monasterii heremitarum 303: Dediticius est *ergebenist*
 Qui si dediticius est, profecto iussis vobis oboediens erit
 St-S 3.136.1: Heinrici Summarium
 12 C. A Codex Vindob. 2400: Dediticius *ergebener*
 12 C. B Clm. 2612: Dediticius *ergebener*
- C Codex Trevirensis 31: Dediticius *erbegeber*
 12 C. E Codex monasterii heremitarum 171:
 Dediticius *ergebener*
- G Codex principum de Lobkowitz 434:
 Dediticius *ergebener*
- O Codex Bonnensis 183:
 Dediticius *ergebener*

Free

- 12 C. St-S 2.612.12: Sallustius Jug. 26.p.257.10:
Codex monasterii heremitarum 303:
Deditionem fecit *gedinga*
- 12 C. St-S 2.612.53: Sallustius Jug. 46.p.285.2:
Codex monasterii heremitarum 303: Deditionis *gedinges*
illa deditionis signa ostentui credere
- 12 C. St-S 2.612.37: Sallustius Jug. 36.p.272.11:
Codex monasterii heremitarum 303: Deditione *mitursazz*
ac statim ipse profectus, ut ante comitia, quod tempus
haut longe aberat, armis aut deditione aut quovis modo
bellum conficeret.

§53. The free translations show that speech is an important factor in a surrender:

geichon	zurgist	frahhun	gedinga
	gigisti	firrachini	gedinges
	gegiste	uerrachene	
	gigister		

§54. For *geichon* compare Gothic *afaikan* 'absagen, leugnen, verleugnen'; OHG *ineichan*:

- 9 C. St-S 1.111.11-13: R = Codex Vindobonensis 162:
 11 Delibor *Insag& pim t sacrifico*
 12 delibor *Ineihan pim*
 13 delibor *plozu*
- 8 C. St-S 1.621.51: Esaias 66.3. Codex Carolsruh. Aug. IC:
Excerebret ineichit
 qui mactat pecus quasi qui excerebret canem
 OHG *eihhon* and OHG *eichnen* 'uindicare'
 OS *gi-ēknōn* 'in anspruch nehmen'
- 9-10 C. St-S 2.346.30: Isidorus De Officiis 2.7.p.425.
 Clm. 14461: Uindicata *kieihotiu*
 Migne 83.787 B: Ac sola propter auctoritatem summo
 sacerdoti clericorum ordinatio et consecratio servata
 est, ne a multis Ecclesiæ disciplina vindicata concor-
 diam solveret, scandala generaret.
 St-S 2.224.47: Gregorii Cura Pastoralis 3.21.p.66:
- 9 C. Clm. 18550,1 Vindicant *eihhont*
 Migne 77.87. B: Incassum ergo se innocentes putant, qui
 commune Dei munus sibi privatum vindicant
- The same passage is glossed elsewhere by *bifalgen* and *falgen* 'für sich etwas beanspruchen':
- St-S 2.206.56: Greg. CP 3.21.p.66:
- 10-11 C. Codex SPauli XXV d/82 Uendicant *biualgen*
 St-S 2.216.57: Greg. CP 3.21.p.66:
- 12 C. Codex Selestadiensis Vindicant *piualkint*
- Begin St-S 2.234.50: Greg. CP 3.21.p.66:
- 9 C. Codex Carolsruh. Aug. CCXX Uendicant *falgent*
 St-S 2.91.50: Canones, Conc. Gangr. Praef.
- 10 C. Codex Wirziburgensis Mp. th. f. 146: Uindicasse *eichene*

Harduin 1.532: *Primitias quoque fructuum, & oblationes eorum, quas veterum institutio ecclesiis tribuit, sibimet vindicasse*

Hefele-Oxenham 1896 p. 326: The first-fruits which are given to the Church they claim for themselves

- 10 C. Wadstein 61.19: *Essener evangeliarglossen: neutrum sibi iesus mendaciter finxit: gieknoda. neuuethar ne thena kunigduom. ne that he godas sunu vuari*

OHG *fergisten, gigisten, zurgist*

§55. The verbs *fergisten* and *gigisten* and the noun *zurgist* are related to OHG *jehan* 'sagen, sprechen, aussagen, eine Erklärung abgeben, erklären, behaupten, bejahen, gestehn, zugestehn, einräumen, eingestehn, bekennen, Bekenntnis sprechen, beichten'.³¹ For the loss of *h*, cf. Wilhelm Braune, *Althochdeutsche Grammatik* (4th ed.) 1911, §154 Anm. 4 p. 136.

§56. The stem *-gist-* occurs in five different manuscripts dating from the ninth century to the eleventh. Graff, who quotes examples of it under *-gift-*³² seems to consider it a scribal error. Steinmeyer and Sievers seem to ignore the stem in the first volume of *Die Althochdeutschen Glossen*, but record it in subsequent volumes. The following material will establish *-gist-* as a correct form. *Frumikist*, however, which glosses Latin *primitias* in Ib³³, does not belong here. *Frumikist* is related to OHG *frumikidi* (Otfrid 4.34.12) 'erster Schössling oder Spross', OHG *kimo* 'Keim, germen', OHG *kinan*, OS *kinan*, Gothic *keinan* 'keimen'. It may have been formed on the analogy of OHG *frumiwuahst*.³⁴

1. St-S 1.787.51: *Addixistis fergiftont*—Jac. 5.6

10 C. Codex Vindob. 1239.

Cf. Graff 4.126: *fergiftont* (es steht *fergistont*) *ad dixistis. Addixistis et occidistis iustum et non restitit vobis.*

You have condemned and put to death the Just One, and he resisted you not.

³¹ Oskar Schade, *Altdeutsches Wörterbuch* 1.463; Halle, Verlag der Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses, 1872–1882.

³² E. G. Graff, *Althochdeutscher Sprachschatz* 4.126; Berlin, Nikolai, 1838.

³³ Graff 4.126.

³⁴ Graff 4.126; St-S 1.287.51, 2.91.48.

2. St-S 2.112.69: Deditos—Canones, Conc. Laod. 127:
 11 C. a = Clm. 18140 gighfa
 10–11 C. b = Clm. 19440 gighfa
 10 C. c = Codex Vindob. 2723 gighfa
 10 C. d = Codex Vindob. 2732 gighfa
 11 C. h = Codex Vindob. 361 *gegiste*
3. St-S 2.467.55: Deditus *gigister*.
 Prudentius, Contra Symm. 1.335:
 11 C. a = Codex Parisinus Nuov. acquis. 241.
 11 C. b = Clm. 14395.
4. St-S 2.471.33: Dedidit *gigisti*.
 Prudentius, Contra Symm. 2.495.
 11 C. a = Codex Parisinus Nouv. acquis. 241.
 11 C. b = Clm. 14395.
5. St-S 2.357.52: Deditio *zurgist*. Orosius 7.28 p. 539.
 9–10 C. Codex SGalli 299.
6. St-S 2.464.1: Dedicionis *zurgisti*.
 Prudentius, Psych. 340.
 11 C. a = Codex Parisinus Nouv. acquis. 241.
 11 C. b = Clm. 14395.
7. St-S 2.464.22: Prodicione *zurgisti*. Prudentius, Psych. 396.
 11 C. a = Codex Parisinus Nouv. acquis. 241.
 11 C. b = Clm. 14395.
 Pœniteat, per si qua movet reverentia summi
 Numinis, hoc tam dulce malum voluisse nefanda
 Proditione sequi!

§57. That *fergisten* is a true Old High German verb, related to OHG *jehan*, is made highly probable by the following facts:

1. *Fergistont*, glossing Latin *addixistis* Jac.5.6, occurs in a manuscript of the tenth century, Codex Vindob. 1239.

2. As a gloss for Latin *addicere*, OHG *fergiften*, for which *fergisten* is supposed to be a miswriting³⁵, occurs in two manuscripts, both of the eleventh century.

St-S 2.505.37: Addicta uerkiftiu Prudentius, P. Laur. 77:
 Addicta avorum prædia
 Fœdis sub auctionibus

³⁵ Cf. Graff 4.126; St-S 1.787.51.

Successor exheres gemit,
Sanctis egens parentibus.

11 C. Codex Turicensis C 164.

St-S 2.515.43: Addicit Prudentius, Ham. 334:

Quem locuples mundi species, & amœna venustas,
Et nitidis fallens circumflua copia rebus
Non capit ut puerum, nec inepto addicit amore.

11 C. a = Codex monasterii heremitarum 316:

ffrgkftkt (= fergiftit)

11 C. b = Turicensis C 164: firkiftit

3. OHG *fergiften* does not occur in any manuscript before the eleventh century, or possibly the late tenth. Besides Latin *addicere*, OHG *fergiften* glosses Latin *uenundatus* and *tradidi*.

St-S 1.442.56: 3 Reg. 21.20: Inveni, eo quod venundatus
sis ut faceres malum in conspectu Domini.

10–11 C. Clm. 19440: Uenundatus tkuufff <fr>gkftkt (= tiuuele
fergiftit)

St-S 1.776.1: 1 Tim. 1.20: ex quibus est Hymenaeus et
Alexander, quos tradidi Satanae, ut discant non blasphemare.

11 C. Codex Carolsruh. Aug. LXXXIII: Tradidi fergifta.

4. In all the examples of OHG *fergiften*, the verb means 'to give up, deliver', whether it glosses Latin *tradidi* or *uenundatus* or *addicere*; and its Old High German synonyms are: *pimeinen*, *zuopimeinen*, *geichon*, *untartuon*.

St-S 2.460.60: Prudentius, Ham. 334: Nec—addicit sub-
ivgat ð nipimeinat.

11 C. a = Codex Parisinus Nouv. acquis. 241.

11 C. b = Clm. 14395.

Cf. St-S 2.515.43 under No. 2.

St-S 2.442.23: Prudentius, P. Agn. 14:
quo minus, idolis

Addicta, sacrum desereret fidem.

11 C. a = Codex Parisinus Nouv. acquis. 241: Addicta pimeintiv

11 C. b = Clm. 14395: Addicta geichotiu pimeintiv

St-S 2.652.51: Aeneid 3.653:

Huic me, quaecumque fuisset,

Addixi.

11 C. Clm. 18059: Addixi Zuopimeinta.

- St-S 2.695.71: Aeneid 3.653:
 12 C. Codex Mellicensis non signatus: Addixi pemeinta.
 St-S 2.407.48: Prudentius, Contra Symm. 2.157:
 Et ne corporeis addicat sensibus omne,
 Quod vult, aut quod agit.
 11 C. Codex Pragensis VIII H 4: Addicat untar toa.
 St-S 2.470.27: Prudentius, Contra Symm. 2.157:
 Addicat untartua
 11 C. a = Codex Parisinus Nouv. acquis. 241.
 11 C. b = Clm. 14395.

OHG *fergisten*, on the other hand, glosses Latin *addicere* in James 5.6 in the sense of 'condemn', and its Old High German synonyms are: *bimeinen*, *nicchen*, *kisagen*, *pisagen*, *pizihan*, *ruogen*, *farwizan*, *bidwingan*. With one possible exception, these occur in manuscripts of the ninth or tenth century.

The transition from one meaning to the other is manifest in the case of *bimeinen*, which appears in both groups, expressing both the act of condemnation and its resultant action.

- St-S 1.718.24-28: Matthew 26.58:
 9 C. Codex Bruxellensis 18725: Et ingressus intro ĩ amore magis-
 tri. ĩ humana curiositate scire cupiens quid pontifex de
 domino iudicaret. utrum neci addi(s)ceret. bemeindi.

The element of speech contained in Latin *addicere* and in OHG *kisagen*, *pisagen*, *pizihan*, *ruogen*, *farwizan* is wanting in OHG *nicchen* 'beugen', which expresses the effect produced upon the one condemned.

- St-S 2.166.24: Gregorii Cura Pastoralis 2.10. p. 32:
 9 C. Clm. 6277: Addicit nicht <a>
 Migne 77.48 B: Correpti namque mens repente ad odium
 proruit, si hanc immoderata increpatio plus quam
 debuit addicit.
 Bramley (1874) p. 123: For the soul of him that is
 reproof falleth suddenly to hatred, if unmeasured
 reproof throw it over more than it ought.
 St-S 2.226.53: Gregorii Cura Pastoralis 2.10.p.32:
 9-10 C. Codex SFloriani III 222 B: Addicit pisag& odo pizihit.
 St-S 2.232.8: Gregorii Cura Pastoralis 3.39. p. 99:
 9-10 C. Codex SFloriani III 222 B: Adicitur kisag& ist.
 Migne 77.124 B: quia ad alta scientiæ fluentia perveniens,
 cum hæc apud bruta audientium corda non contegit,

poenæ reus addicitur, si per verba ejus in scandalum, sive munda sive immunda mens capiatur.

Bramley (1874) p. 393: because if he come to the deep streams of knowledge, and cover them not before the brutish hearts of his hearers, he is condemned to punishment as guilty, if through his words a soul, whether clean or unclean, be caught on a stumbling-stone.

St-S 2.230.66: Gregorii Cura Pastoralis 3.29.p.85:
Addicitur ruogit sih

9-10 C. a = Codex SFloriani III 222 B.

9-10 C. b = Codex Vindob. 949 f.115^b.

Migne 77.108 C: Et quia cum mens a culpa resipiscit, addicitur, atque admissum flere conatur.

Bramley (1874) p.337: And in that the soul when she repenteth herself of her sin, is condemned, and endeavoureth to weep for her offence.

St-S 2.207.76: Gregorii Cura Pastoralis 3.29.p.85:

10-11 C. Codex SPauli XXV d/82: Addicitur biduu <n>gin uuard.

St-S 2.209.52: Gregorii Cura Pastoralis 3.29.p.85:

12 C. Codex Selestadiensis: Addicitur pidw:ngin

St-S 2.289.54: Gregorii Homiliae 1.17.p.1497: Addicat

11 C. a = Clm. 18140 niche

10-11 C. c = Clm. 19440 niche farvuize

11 C. d = Clm. 9573 nicche

10 C. e = Codex Vindob. 2723 niche

10 C. f = Codex Vindob. 2732 niche

Migne 76. 1139 D: ne postquam prædicationis locum suscepimus apud justum judicem nostra nos taciturnitas addicat.

§58. OHG *gigisten* 'surrender' has its parallel in OHG *geichon*. In both verbs the fundamental idea is that of speaking, an important element in a surrender. In both verbs, the prefix *gi-* seems to express accomplishment.

St-S 2.471.33: Prudentius, Contra Symm. 2.495:

Deditit gigisti.

Venatrix Ephesum virgo, Mars deditit Hebrum.

11 C. a = Codex Parisinus Nouv. acquis. 241.

11 C. b = Clm. 14395.

St-S 2.535.1: Prudentius, H. a. cibum 107:

Usibus omnia dedo tuis:

13 C. Codex Florentinus XVI, 5: Dedo geichon.

Dedication to the priesthood may be expressed both by OHG *gigiften* and by OHG *gigisten*, according to the point of view. From the bishop's point of view, who ordains the man, Latin *dedere* would be rendered by OHG *gigiften*; from the point of view of the man ordained, who must utter his vow, Latin *dedere* would be rendered by OHG *gigisten*.

St-S 2.112.69: Canones, Conc. Laod. 127:

Quod non oporteat sacro ministerio deditos, a presbyteris
usque ad diaconos . . . ingredi tabernas.

11 C.	a = Clm. 18140	gigifta
10-11 C.	b = Clm. 19440	gigifta
10 C.	c = Codex Vindob. 2723	gigifta
10 C.	d = Codex Vindob. 2732	gigifta
11 C.	h = Codex Vindob. 361	gegiste

§59. Surrender, likewise, has a twofold aspect: the negotiation (*zurgist*) and the giving up (*zurgift*). The prefix *zur-* signifies evil. In the minds of the old Germanic tribes, surrender was evil: evil speech, evil gift; certainly evil in its consequences.

The meaning of the prefix *zur-* 'evil' is borne out by most of the other compounds of this prefix.

Graff 1.860 *zurwan suspicio*

1.860 *zurwani suspiciosus*

1.918 *zurwari suspiciosus, scandalizatus, suspectus*

1.918 *zurwari superstitio*

1.919 *zurwarida suspicio, scandalum*

2.290 *zurlust acidia, fastidium*

4.102 *zurganc defectio, defectus*

4.871 *zurheilendi debilitatus*

5.466 *zurtriuwe perfidus, suspectus*

5.468 *zurtriwida suspicio*

OHG *zurgift* seems to have been a later form. It does not appear until the twelfth century, while OHG *zurgist* occurs from the ninth to the eleventh century.

St-S 2.357.52: Orosius 7.28.p.539:

Migne 31.1136 A: Licinium crebris bellis terra marique
assurgentem et repressum, tandem ad deditionem coegit.

9-10 C. Codex SGalli 299: Deditio *zurgist*.

- St-S 2.358.3: Orosius 7.28.p.539:
 12 C. Codex Selestadiensis: Deditio zurgift.
 St-S 2.464.1: Prudentius, Psych. 340:
 Dedicionis zurgisti
 11 C. a = Codex Parisinus Nouv. acquis. 241.
 11 C. b = Clm. 14395.
 Et iam cuncta acies in deditionis amorem
 Sponte sua versis transibat perfida signis.
 St-S 4.240.10: Adespota: Dedicio zurgift
 13 C. Codex Oenipontanus 711.
 St-S 4.241.16: Adespota: Deditio zurgift
 12 C. Codex Selestadiensis
 That betrayal, treachery should be expressed by a word signifying
 evil speech, is not to be wondered at.
 St-S 2.464.22: Prudentius, Psych. 396:
 Pœniteat, per si qua movet reverentia summi
 Numinis, hoc tam dulce malum voluisse nefanda
 Proditione sequi!
 11 C. a = Codex Parisinus Nouv. acquis. 241:
 Prodicione zurgisti.
 11 C. b = Clm. 14395: Prodicione zurgisti.

OHG *frāhhun*, *uerrāchene*, *firrachini*

§60. The reduction of the prefix in OHG *frāhhun* as compared with *uerrāchene* finds its parallel in OHG *fliosan*: *firliosan*, *flazan*: *firlazan*.³⁶

If Schatz is right in interpreting *uerrāchene*³⁷ as a preterite participle, we may explain the *u* in *frāhhun* as a scribal error due to the *u* in the lemma *Deditum*.

Since Notker indicates a long *ā* in *uerrāchene*, the three forms OHG *frāhhun* *uerrāchene* *firrachini* would stand in ablaut-relation to OHG *rahha* 'rede, rechenschaft; sache, angelegenheit'; *rahhon* 'erzählen, sagen'; *errahhon* 'enarrare, erzählen'; *karechida* 'erzählung'; OS *raka* 'rechenschaft, angelegenheit'; OE *racu* 'an exposition, explanation, orderly account, narrative; reasoning, argument; comedy; the art of exposition, rhetoric; an account, reckoning; reason.'

But the *n* may be an integral part of the stem, and the preceding vowel of secondary origin. Compare B-T 789 OE *recen* 'ready, prompt;

³⁶ Cf. Josef Schatz, Ahd. Gram. 1927 §265 p. 175.

³⁷ §453a, p. 291.

swift, quick; coming swiftly and so causing terror'; OE *recenian* 'to arrange, dispose, reckon'; OE *recennes* 'a narrative, history'; Notker (Piper) 2.255.10. *berechenotost* 'perfecisti'. In this case OHG *frāhhun* and *uerrachene* would be adjectives, and *fīrrachini* a noun derived from the adjective.

§61. OHG *gedinga gedinges* so manifestly imply speech that no comment is necessary.

MEANINGS OF LATIN *deditus*

§62. While the noun *editio* and the finite forms of the verb *dedo* have preserved the original meaning 'to give away, give up anything to one, surrender', the preterite participle, in addition, has developed meanings farther removed. The variety of meaning is reflected in the various Old High German glosses.

1. 'Surrendered'

8 C.	St-S 1.104.14:	Deditus	<i>farkepan</i>
8 C.	St-S 1.104.18:	Dedita	<i>farkepan</i>
10 C.	St-S 2.297.17:	Deditos	<i>piscerite</i>
10 C.			<i>gigiphla</i>

2. 'Dedicated'

10 C.	St-S 2.112.69-70:	Deditos	<i>gigifta</i>
11 C.			<i>gegiste</i>
11 C.	St-S 2.467.55:	Deditus	<i>gigister</i>

3. 'Devoted, zealous'

10 C.	St-S 1.700.21-22:	Dediti	<i>iliga</i>
11-12 C.			<i>iligi</i>
12 C.			<i>irgebini</i>
11 C.	St-S 2.747.10:	Dediti	<i>pimeinta</i>

4. 'Addicted'

9 C.	St-S 2.344.51:	Deditos	<i>keronte</i>
10 C.	St-S 2.333.52:	Dediti	<i>kauatote</i>
11 C.	St-S 2.450.51:	Deditum	<i>frāhhun</i>

The third and fourth groups are especially instructive. The original passive connotation of *deditus* has become active.

St-S 1.700.21: Dediti *iliga iligi irgebini*

Macc. 2.4.14: ita ut sacerdotes iam non circa altaris officia dediti essent

so that the priests had no more any zeal for the services of the altar.

St-S 2.747.10: *Dediti pimeinta*

Vita Martini 1.p.110.10: studio et gloriae saeculari
inaniter dediti.

The participle has become an adjective. Note the change of prefix in the more literal gloss *irgebini* as compared with *farkepan*, Group 1.

9 C. St-S 2.344.51: *Deditos keronte*

Isidorus, De Officiis 2.8.p.428 (1 Tim.3.8.)

Diaconos similiter pudicos, non bilingues, non multo
vino deditos, non turpe lucrum sectantes

Deacons in like manner must be grave, not double-
tongued, not given to much wine, not greedy of
filthy lucre

'Given to much wine' becomes 'desiring much wine'. It is not the individual word *deditos* that is glossed, but the context.

11 C. St-S 2.450.51: *Deditum frahhun*

Prudentius P. Rom. 374:

O mersa limo caecitas gentilium,
O carnulenta nationum pectora,
O spissus error, o tenebrosum genus,
Terris amicum, deditum cadaveri,
Subiecta semper intuens, nunquam supra!

§63. A comparison with the other two examples of this stem will show the same development of meaning in OHG *frahhun* as in Latin *deditus*.

†1022 Notker, Werke 1933. 1.341.21 = Notker (Piper) 1.313.2:

deditę uitiis *uerrachene an die sunda*

11 C. St-S 2.546.80: *Deditionis firrachini*

Prudentius Psych. 340:

Et iam cuncta acies in deditionis amorem
Sponte sua versis transibat perfida signis

'surrender'	:	'addicted to'
<i>firrachini</i>	:	uitiis <i>uerrachene an die sunda</i> cadaveri <i>frahhun</i>

10 C. St-S 2.333.52: *Dediti kauatote*

Hieronymus In Matthaeum (15.25, 26) 114:

Migne 26.114 B: Canes autem ethnici propter idolo-
latrariam dicuntur, qui esui sanguinis dediti, et ca-
daveribus mortuorum, feruntur in rabiem.

'Addicted' (to the carcasses of the dead and to the eating of blood) becomes 'fed'. Compare:

- 10 C. St-S 2.333.65: Pasta *kauatot*
 Hieronymus In Matthaeum (16.8-12) 118:
 Migne 26.118 A: quinque millia hominum, et quatuor
 millia, quæ pasta sunt in eremo
 St-S 2.331.30: Sagine *fatunga*
 Hieronymus In Matthaeum (9.15) 59
 Migne 26.59. A: Ecclesiæ autem consuetudo ad pas-
 sionem Domini et resurrectionem per humilitatem
 carnis venit, ut spirituali saginæ jejunio corporis
 præparemur.

Again, therefore, it is not the individual word, but the context that is glossed. The freedom of translation in these cases is patent.

§64. Similar freedom of translation appears in the glossing of individual words, where the context is ignored. Such is the case in the gloss which particularly concerns us.

- St-S 2.297.17, Gregorii Homiliae 2.22. p. 1533:
 c. 1070 a Clm. 18140 Deditos *piscerite*
 10-11 C. c Clm. 19440 pp. 190 sqq. Deditos *piscerite*
 10 C. e Codex Vindob. 2723 Deditos *piscerite*
 10 C. f Codex Vindob. 2732 Deditos *gigiphta*
 Migne 76.1177 C: Neque etenim infideles quosque, et pro
 suis criminibus æternis suppliciis deditos, ad veniam
 Dominus resurgendo reparavit.

The lemma *deditos* has the original passive meaning 'delivered up, surrendered', expressed by the gloss *gigiphta*. But men surrendered are captives, deprived of their patrimony, hence *piscerite*.

IV. THE OLD ENGLISH MATERIAL

INTRODUCTION

§1. The wealth of syntactic material in Old English¹ makes it possible to show clearly: (1) the difference between OE *bedælan* and OE *bescerian*; (2) the origin of OE *bedælan* in the ninth century as a back-formation based on the participial adjective *bedæled*, which had been derived directly from the West Germanic noun **dailiz* (OE *dæl*).

§2. OE *bescerian* < West Germanic **bi-skarjan* 'to cut off' is a true verb appertaining almost exclusively to non-material things. Active forms are numerous and appear in the very earliest documents. OE *bescerian* applies both to things possessed and to things not possessed.

§3. OE *bedælan*, derived from the participial adjective *bedæled*, does not emerge as a verb until the ninth century. It appertains both to material and to non-material things. There are but seven active forms. OE *bedælan* applies only to things not possessed.

§4. OHG *biteilen*, too, for the most part, applies to things not possessed, but there are at least two examples in which deprivation of something possessed is involved: St-S 2.144.59² from the ninth century and St-S 2.92.18³ from the tenth century. The noun OHG *piteilida* St-S 2.99.7, 4.322.16⁴ from the ninth century likewise denotes deprivation of something possessed (*facultatum*). In Old English, however, this stage of development was never reached.

§5. When *bedæled* was combined with the verb *beon*, which 'has a specially future sense'⁵, as in Sanskrit, the meaning 'will be without'

¹ All the Old English material available, both prose and poetry, as well as much of the important Middle English material, was carefully gone through for this study, and every word with prefix *be-* (no matter what the meaning) recorded. All dictionaries and glossaries were consulted as checks. The latest date noted in the New English Dictionary was accepted as that of the latest occurrence unless evidence to the contrary was available.

² Cf. p. 28 above.

³ Cf. p. 22 above.

⁴ Cf. p. 21 above.

⁵ Cf. B-T Suppl. 79.

developed into 'will be deprived of'. The combination was thus apprehended as a passive form, to which a corresponding active form was later added.

§6. This explanation of the origin of the verb *bedælan* is supported by the following facts:

(1) Throughout the eighth century and the beginning of the ninth, the participial adjective *bedæled* alone occurs. It has adjectival meaning: 'having no part or share in, lacking, devoid of, without'. It is not combined with the verb 'to be', but is used to modify a noun as an adjective.

(2) The Latin equivalents of OE *bedæled* are adjectives: *expers*, *exsors*, *alienus*, *uacuuus*, *desertus*, *exheres*.

(3) The meaning 'deprived of something not possessed' was a late development in the case of *bedæled*. Throughout the eighth century and the beginning of the ninth, this meaning was expressed by *bescered*, not by *bedæled*. And yet it was this meaning that furnished the common ground on which *bedælan* and *bescerian* met. However, if we compare the dates of the examples which show similar use for both verbs,⁶ we find the earliest date for *bedælan* to be 880–890 A.D., while *bescerian* goes back to the seventh century, or at least to the beginning of the eighth.

(4) The Old English verb *bedælan* never developed any other meaning but 'deprive of something not possessed', nor did it gain a real foothold. There are but seven examples of active forms all told, extending through a period of eighty years (880–960). The participial adjective *bedæled*, on the other hand, is found in abundance from the seventh century to the latter part of the thirteenth.

TRANSLATION OF OE *bedæled*

§7. The examples of OE *bedæled* 'having no part or share in, lacking, devoid of, without' are given below with the current translations. In the light of our investigation, the examples from the eighth century and the beginning of the ninth should be translated as follows:

- p. 72 Widsið 52: enosle bidæled
without family
73 Wanderer 20: eðle bidæled
without a home

⁶ Pages 58–63 below.

- Andreas 309: maðmum bedæled
‘penniless’ (Root)
- 73 Genesis A 930: neorxnawanges dugeðum bedæled
without the glory of Paradise
- 74 Crist 1407: eallum bidæled dugeþum and dreamum
lacking all blessings and joys
- 74 Beowulf 721: dreamum bedæled
without joys
- 74 Beowulf 1275: dreame bedæled
without joy
- 74 Christ and Satan 68: dreamum bedelde
without joy
- 75 Christ and Satan 343: dreamum bedælde
without joy
- 75 Deor’s Lament 28: sælum bidæled
without joy
- 75 Juliana 390, 681: hroþra bidæled
‘comfortless’ (Gollancz)
- 77 Christ and Satan 295: sorgum bedælde
free from sorrow, care
- 77 Crist 563: duguþum bidæled
devoid of happiness, virtue
- 78 Christ and Satan 121: duguðum bedeled
devoid of virtue
- 78 Christ and Satan 185: goda bedæled
devoid of good
- 79 Crist 1432: mane bidæled
devoid of evil

LATIN EQUIVALENTS OF OE *bedæled*

§8. The Latin equivalents show the adjectival nature of OE *bedæled*:

- Last decade of 9 C. Boethius 113.11: Hwa wisra manna wile cweðan þ ænig
god man sie bedæled þæs hehstan goodes, forðæm he syle
æff þæm swincð?
- Boethius 4.3.21–24: Postremo cum omne præmium idcirco
appetatur quoniam bonum esse creditur, quis boni
compotem præmii iudicet *expertem*?
- Boethius 113.30: Hwæt wenað þa yfelan þ hi bion bedælde
ðara wita, & sint fulle ælces yfles?
- Boethius 4.3.39–42: Si igitur sese ipsi aestimare uelint,

possuntne sibi supplicii *expertes* uidere quos omnium
malorum extrema nequitia non affecit modo uerum
etiam uehementer infecit?

- 995 Ælfric, Grammar 64.9: hic et haec et hoc *expers* orhlyte,
 oððe bedæled

Note the equivalent OE adjective *orhlyte* which almost literally translates Latin *exsors*. Cf. the following example:

- c. 893 CP 66.10: ac sie bedæled & aidlod ælces godes weorces
 Migne 77.24 C: atque a bonis actibus funditus *exsors*
 vacat

CP 66.13: ac se forudfota bið ælces feðes bedæled.

Migne 77.24 C: sed ab his omnimodo *alienus* existat.

- Last Boethius 41.19: (*hu lytel*) he bið, & hu læne, & hu (*tedre,*
decade & *h*)u bedæled ælces godes.

- 9 C. Boethius 2.7.8-9: quae quam sit exilis et totius *uacua*
 ponderis

Boethius 108.29: & ða yflan beoð ælces mægnes & ælces
cræftes bedælde.

Boethius 4.2.91-93: ut idem scelesti, idem uiribus
omnibus uideantur esse *deserti*.

- c. 893 CP 332.6: ðonne weorðað hie bedælde ðæs ecean eðles
 ures Fæder.
 Migne 77.86 C: illic ab æterno patrimonio *exhæredes*
 fiunt.

- Last Boethius 113.1: Ne mæg hine mon no mid rihte hatan
decade se gooda, gif he bið ðæs hehstan goodes bedæled

- 9 C. Boethius 4.3.12-13: neque enim bonis ultra iure uocabitur
 qui *careat* bono

- c. 893 CP 330.25: Ðæt ierfe ðæt ge ærest æfter higiað, æt siðestan
 hit bið bedæled ælcra bledsunge.

Migne 77.86 C: Hæreditas ad quam festinatur in principio,
in novissimo benedictione *carebit*.

- Last Boethius 112.17: Forðæm þa goodan næfre ne beoð bedælde
decade þara edleana hiora goodes, ne ða yflan næfre ðara wita ðe
9 C. hi geearnigað.

Boethius 4.3.2-4: In quo perspicuum est numquam bonis
praemia numquam sua sceleribus *desse* supplicia.

OE *bedæled* therefore means 'having no part or share in, lacking, devoid of, without'. The prefix seems to have negative force.

GROUPING OF THE OLD ENGLISH MATERIAL

§9. The meaning 'deprive(d) of something not possessed' is found both in *bedælan* and in *bescerian*. It implies that something is withheld. Certain things withheld occur with both verbs, others with only one. It is the latter that show the inherent difference in meaning between the two verbs. The meaning 'deprive of something possessed' is limited to *bescerian*. Where the connotation 'withhold' is absent, *bedæled* expresses simply a lack.

§10. The examples are therefore grouped as follows:

- A. 'Deprive(d) of things not possessed', hence things withheld.
 - I. Things withheld, both with *bedælan* and with *bescerian*.
 - II. Things withheld, with one verb only, showing a difference in meaning:
 - 1. *bedælan*.
 - 2. *bescerian*.
- B. 'Deprive of something possessed': *bescerian*.
- C. 'Having no part or share in, lacking, devoid of, without': *bedæled*.

A. 'DEPRIVE(D) OF THINGS NOT POSSESSED', HENCE THINGS WITHHELD.

I

THINGS WITHHELD, BOTH WITH *bedælan* AND WITH *bescerian*

§11. Things which are withheld and which occur both with *bedælan* and with *bescerian* are:

- 1. Inheritance.
- 2. Rewards, eternal life; glories of heaven.
- 3. Endowments.

1. Inheritance

bedæled, bedælan

- 880 GD 222.25: þæt se fæder hi bedælde his speda
 to Migne 77.272 C: ut eam Pater suæ substantiæ exhæredem
 890 faceret.
 c. 893 CP 332.6: ðonne weorðað hie bedælde ðæs ecean eðles ures
 Fæder.
 Migne 77.86 C: illic ab æterno patrimonio exhæredes fiunt.

- 959 Benedictine Rule 2.1: þilæs þe he (= ure heofenlica fæder)
 to beyrfewerdige . . . , na þæt an, þæt he us æhta bedæle
 963 LH: lest He disinherit us . . . , not only that He withhold
 from us possessions

2. Rewards, eternal life, glories of heaven

bedæled, bedælan

- Last Boethius 112.31: ðære mede ne wyrð (*næfre*) nan good man
 decade bedæled.
 9 C. Sedgefield 130: from no good man shall it (= the prize)
 ever be withheld.
 Boethius 112.17: Forðæm þa goodan næfre ne beoð bedælde
 þara edleana hiora goodes, ne ða yflan næfre þara
 wita ðe hi geearnigað.
 Sedgefield 129: For the good are never kept out of
 the rewards of their goodness, nor the wicked out
 of the punishments they earn.
 Boethius 113.30: Hwæt wenað þa yfelan þ hi bion
 bedælde ðara wita, & sint fulle ælces yfles?
 Sedgefield 131: Why do the wicked hope to escape
 their punishment, being full of every wickedness?

1. Inheritance

bescerian

- 600 to Erfurt Glossary. CGL 5.341.1: Abdicauit *bisceridae*
 700 ? Cf. 343.28: Abdicat *exheredat*
 MS 9 C.
 First Crist 32: þe he to wuldre forlet,
 half þa we heanlice hweorfan sceoldan
 8 C. to þis enge lond, eðle bescyrede.
 Whitman 1900: we whom He admitted to glory, when,
 deprived of our heritage, we were doomed to turn
 in wretchedness unto this narrow land.

2. Rewards, eternal life, glories of heaven

bescerian

- 990 Ælfric, Hom 1.240.20: He cepð ðæra sceatta, and blissað
 to on ðam wurðmynte, and hæfð his mede for ðisum life, and
 991 bið bescyred þære ecan mede.
 He takes heed of treasures, and rejoices in dignity, and
 has his reward in this life, and will be cut off from the
 everlasting reward.
- 994 Ælfric, Hom 2.534.34: Soðlice swa hwa swa bodað forði þæt
 he her oððe mede oððe herunge underfo, buton twyn he
 bescyrað hine sylfne fram ðære ecan mede.
 But he who preaches that he may here receive meed or
 praise, without doubt severs himself from the ever-
 lasting meed.
- Early Scint 123.16: ecere butan tweon mede hyne bescyrað
 11 C. aeterna procul dubio mercede se priuat

Begin- ning	Vespasian Psalter 83.13: dryhten ne bis(c)ered Dominus non privabit
9 C.	godum gongende in unscēðfulnisse bonis ambulantes in innocentia

971 BIH 49.35: to hwon bescyredest þu þe twyfealdre bletsunga,*
 þa þu heruwest Godes bebodu?
 Wherefore hast thou deprived thyself of the twofold bless-
 ings by breaking God's behests?
 *ægþer ge eorþlice mede ge eac heofenlice
 both earthly and heavenly reward

Second Andreas 1618: *ðæt þa gastas, gode orfeorme,*
half *in wita forwyrd, wuldre bescyrede,*
8 C. *in feonda geweald gefered ne wurdan.*
LH: that the souls, devoid of happiness, cut off from glory,
might not be borne to torture and destruction into the
power of fiends

3. Endowments

bedæled, bedælan

- Last decade
9 C.
994
994
- Boethius 108.29: *ða goodan bioð simle mihtige, & ða yflan beoð ælces mægnes & ælces cræftes bedælde.*
- Sedgefield 125: the good are always powerful, and the bad are bereft of all might and virtue.
- Ælfric, Hom 2.556.25: Ne mæg nan man soðlice cweðan, þæt he þæs pundes bedæled sy, and ne ðurfe Gode agyldan gescead þære sylene ðe he underfeng.
No man in sooth may say that he is deprived of the pound, and needs not render an account to God of the gift which he received.
- Ælfric, Hom 2.558.6: nan ðearfa nis ðyses pundes bedæled
no poor person is deprived of this pound
- c. 1005
First quarter
11 C.
- Wulfstan 58.8 (= Ælfric):
se man, þe bið bedæled eallum þissum gifum
LH: the man who lacks all these gifts
- Wulfstan 52.4:
se man, þe bið bedæled ealra ðissa seofan gifa
LH: the man who lacks all these seven gifts.

3. Endowments

bescerian

- First Der Menschen Gaben 11:
half Ne bið ænig þæs earfoðsælig
8 C. mon on moldan ne þæs medspedig
lytelhydig ne þæs læthydig
þæt hine se argifa ealles biscyrge
modes cræfta oþþe mægendæda
Gollancz 1895 p.293:
There is not any man on earth
so unblessed, nor so meanly endowed,
so weak of intellect, nor so sluggish of thought,
that the Giver of Grace would cut him wholly off
from crafts of mind or strenuous deeds
- First Riddles 41.101: ne ic breaga ne bruna brucan moste
half ac mec bescyrede scyppend eallum:
8 C. Grein 1859:
nicht gebrauchen darf ich Brauen noch Wimpern:
mir versagte das all der Schöpfer unser.
- 880 GD 349.17:
to ne heo forþon næs bescired þære gyfe, þe heo bæd.
890 Migne 77.428 B: non est privata munere quod poposcit

§12. Inheritance, rewards, endowments may be shared or one may be cut off from them. Hence both *bedæled* (*bedælan*) and *biscerian* are used. It is the things that are used with only one of these words that reveal their difference in meaning.

II

THINGS WITHHELD, WITH ONE VERB ONLY, SHOWING A DIFFERENCE IN MEANING.

§13. Things withheld which occur with only one of the two verbs, either with *bedælan* only or with *bescerian* only, point to a difference in meaning between the two verbs.

<i>bedæled, bedælan</i>	<i>bescerian</i>
a. Light, air, wind	a. Guilt
b. Social intercourse	b. Desires
c. Honor, protection, justice, counsel, help, comfort	c. Entering church
d. Knowledge	d. Partaking of communion
	e. Movement of limbs
	f. Wonder

The static objective social connotation of the things used with *bedæled* (*bedælan*), and the dynamic subjective individual connotation of those used with *bescerian* are patent.

The things used with *bedæled* (*bedælan*) are states; they are conferred upon the person concerned from without; they may be shared. Things used with *bescerian* are actions, individual actions of the person concerned.

1. *bedælan*

- a. Light, air, wind
- 990 Ælfric, Hom 1.608.34: and eac se fulla mona færllice fagettað,
to þonne he ðæs sunlican leohtes bedæled bið ðurh ðære
991 eorðan sceadwunge.
and also the full moon suddenly becomes dusky, when
it is deprived of the solar light by the shadow of the
earth.
- 998 Saints 37.183:
Belucað hine þonne fæste þæt he licge þær ana
leohtes bedæled on þam laðum bedde.
Lock him then fast, that he may lie there alone,
deprived of light, on the loathsome bed.

- 992 De Temporibus (Leechdoms 3) 272.27: swa swa fixas cwelað
 gýf hi of wætere beoð. swa eac cweld ælc eorðlic lichama.
 gýf he byð ðære lýfte bedæled.
 as fishes die if they are out of the water, so also each
 earthly body dieth if it be deprived of the air.
- c. 1155 Layamon 3.128.9: ah feowertene niht fulle:
 to þere læi þa uerde.
 c. 1166 þeos wederes abiden:
 windes bi-delde.
 but full *a* fortnight there lay the host, abiding the weather,
 deprived of wind.
- b. Social intercourse
- 880 GD 276.5: Ne let he næfre hi him neh gan, ne he næfre
 to ne geþafode for ænigum þinge þæt heo moste him genealæ-
 890 can, ac eallunga he bedælde hi ælces lichamlican gemanan
 & heowcuðnesse.
 Migne 77.336 C: ad se propius accedere nunquam
 sinebat, eamque sibimet propinquare nulla occasione
 permittens, ab ea sibi communionem funditus
 familiaritatis absciderat.
- c. Honor, protection, justice, counsel, help, comfort
- 998 Saints 28.103: Eala come ic ær
 þæt ic mihte geendian mine ylde mid swylcum.
 and min ealde blod mid pissere eorode ageotan.
 þæt ic heora wurðmyntes ne wurde bedæled.
 Oh! that I had come earlier,
 that I might end my life with such men,
 and shed my old blood with this Legion,
 that I might not be deprived of their honour!
- First quarter 11 C. Wulfstan 157.19: and godes þeowas syndan mæpe and
 munde gewelhwar bedælde;
 LH: and from God's servants everywhere honor and
 protection are withheld.
 Wulfstan 243.13: and þa syndon mæðe and munde bedælde
 ealles to swiðe
 LH: and from them justice (honor) and protection are
 withheld altogether too much.
 Wulfstan 243.5: ðonne is micel þearf ealre þisse þeode
 helps and rædes. forðam to forð heo is bedæled gyt and
 gefyrn wæs rædes and rihtes for gode and for worulde.

LH: Then there is great need of help and counsel for all this people. For too continually is it still and was of old deprived of counsel and justice before God and before the world.

- c. 1155 Layamon 2.78.8: for þis is sum riche king:
to rædes bi-dæled.
c. 1166 for this is some rich king, void of counsel
Early Gloucester Fragments 106.13: Gefultma me anegra ælces
10 C. oðres fylstes bedælede.
help me, of all other support destitute:
First Wulfstan 48.3: and forðam he sceal drefan dimne and
quarter deopne hellewites grund, helpes bedæled.
11 C. LH: and on that account he shall stir up the dark and
deep abyss of hell-torment, deprived of help.
c. 1155 Layamon 2.496.3: þu hauest a þisse londe:
to
c. 1166 vre children imaked faderlese:
& frofre bidæled.
Thou hast in this land . . . our children made
fatherless and deprived of comfort.
Layamon 2.570.4: and mōi ænne gode wifmon:
iwhorht to bleðere widewe.
moni child faderlæs:
and frouer bidaled
and many a good woman *have* made miserable widow,
many *a* child fatherless, and bereaved of comfort;

d. Knowledge

- 880 GD 33.13: ne scealt þu hwæpre þæs &gites bedæled beon
to pisses eadigan mannes lifes Equities.
890 Migne 77.169 C: ne tamen vitæ ejus cognitione frauderis
1005 O & N Test 16.18: Nu wille ic þæt þu hæbbe huru þis litle,
to nu ðe wisdom gelicað & þu hine habban wilt, þæt þu
1012 ealles ne beo minra boca bedæled.
Now will I that thou haue at least this little, sith
knowledge is so acceptable vnto thee, and thou wilt
haue it rather than be altogether without my bookes.
1005 O & N Test 51.845: Ic wille nu seggan eft sceortlice þe
to be þære niwan gecyðnisse æfter Cristes tocyme, þæt þu
1012 mid ealle ne beo þæs andgites bedæled

In this treatise I will now further speake vnto thee as briefly concerning the new Testament since the comming of Christ: that *thou* be not altogether ignorant thereof

- 12 C. Twelfth Century Homilies 4.3: ac we moten eow sægan bi eowre andgite, þ̅ ge alles ne beon þare lare bidælede ne ure Drihtines wordæ.

but we must tell it you according to your powers of understanding, so that you may not be altogether deprived of its meaning, or of our Lord's words.

2. *bescerian*

a. Guilt

- First half 8 C. Der Menschen Gemüt 8: & þone wacran swa some scyldum bescyredne on gescead witan.
Grein 1859: und wuste auch zu unterscheiden den Schwächeren von Schuld befreien.
c. 800 Reimlied 84: Uton nu halgum gelice scyldum biscyrede scyndan generede
O, dass wir doch, den Heiligen gleich,
Von Schuld befreit, erlöst dorthin eilen

b. Desires

- Beginning 9 C. Vespasian Psalter 20.3:
lust sawle his ðu saldes him & willan
Desiderium animae ejus tribuisti ei et voluntate
weolera his ðu ne (bi)sceredes hine
labiorum ejus non fraudasti eum
Vespasian Psalter 77.30:
& ne sind biscerede from luste his
et non sunt fraudati a desiderio suo
c. 900 Paris Psalter 77.29: = Ps. 78.30:
næron hi bescyrede sceattes willan.
They were not estranged from that which they desired.

c. Entering church

- Last third 9 C. Bede 78.10: nis þæt reht þæt heo sy bescyred from Godes circean ingonge.
Plummer 55.21: iustum non est, ut ingressu ecclesiae priuetur.

⁷ *Benumen* relates to the past, *bescired* to the future as well as to the past.

a. Glories and light and joys of heaven

- c. 700 Genesis A 63: æðele bescyrede
his wiðerbrecan wuldorgestealdum.
Kennedy 1916: drove out the rebels from their ancient
home and seats of glory.
- First half Crist 1519: Farað nu awyrgde willum biscyrede
engla dreames on ece fir.
- 8 C. Whitman 1900: Depart now, accursed, by your own wills
dispossessed of the angels' joy, into everlasting fire
- 720 Guðlac A 116: and þær ær fela
to setla gesæton þonan sið tugin
749 wide waðe wuldre byscyrede
lyftlacende
- Gollancz 1895: there had they erewhile fixed
their many seats, but thence, cut off from glory,
they had gone their way, a journey far and wide,
hovering through the air.
- 720 Guðlac A 645: ne þurfun ge wenan wuldre biscyrede
to þæt ge mec synfulle mid searocræftum
749 under scæd sconde scufan motan
- Gollancz 1895:
Ye may not hope, ye creatures bereft of glory,
that, with cunning craft, sinful as ye are,
ye may shamefully thrust me under shade
- 790 Christ and Satan 342: Godes andsacan
to hweorfan geond helle hate onæled
830 ufan and utan (him wæs æghwær wa),
witum werige, wuldres bescyrede,
dreamum bedælde.
- Kennedy 1916: God's adversaries wandered throughout
hell, burning with flame above and below (on every
side was torture); oppressed with pain, bereft of joy,
and shorn of glory
- c. 750 Guðlac B 867: Oft to þam wicum weorude cwmun
deofla deaðmægen dugupa byscyrede
hloþum þringan
- Gollancz 1895
Oft to those dwellings came, thronging in troops,
a deadly force of devils with their host,
cut off from glory

⁸ Since *bescerian* refers to the future as well as to the past, *beneoman*, which refers only to the past, is added. The author of the Old English Bede wished to make sure that the full meaning of the Latin original be expressed.

- third þære onfongnan aldorlicnesse.
 9 C. Plummer 52.33: quem nos priuare auctoritate percepta
 minime debemus.
 880 GD 237.27: þa wæs se fæder swyðe yrre & hine bescirede
 to þæs rices & bereafode eallra his æhta
 890 Migne 77.289 C: iratus pater eum privavit regno, rebusque
 exspoliavit omnibus.

Note the non-material connotation of *bescirede*, while *bereafode* is used of the material possessions.

- c. 892 TSC 821 A: Her wearþ Ceolwulf his rices besciered:
 Thorpe 1861: In this year Ceolwulf was deprived of
 his kingdom.

- c. 961 Benedictine Rule 126.7: Gif he þurh þreale nele gerihtan,
 he sy aworpen of þam prafostfolgoðe, and sy oþer on þa
 note geset, þe þæs wyrðe sy. Siþþan he bescired bið, gif
 he on þære geferrædene gedefe ne bið and gehyrsum, hine
 man of mynstre mid ealle adræfe.

Quod si neque sic correxerit; tunc deiciatur de ordine
 prepositure. et alius qui dignus est in loco eius sub-
 rogetur; Quod si postea in congregatione quietus et
 oboediens non fuerit: etiam de monasterio expellatur;

- Second Luke 16.4 C: ic wat hwæt ic do þ̅ hig me on hyra onfon
 half þonne ic be-scired beo fram tun-scire.

- 10 C. I am resolved what to do, that, when I am put out of the
 stewardship, they may receive me into their houses.

d. Miraculous gift

- 880 GD 241.15: þa wearð þara an asliden in forlegenesse, &
 to þa wæs he sona bescyred þære gife þæs wundres.

- 890 Migne 77.296 A: Quorum illic unus in luxuriam lapsus,
 mox privatus est dono miraculi;

e. Hope

- 998 Saints 33.196: Hwa bescirede me mines hihtes
 Who hath deprived me of my hope

f. Sacred mysteries

- MS Chrodegang 79.2: þe læs þe se hlyst & seo gesihð wurðe
 1025 bescyred þara haligra geryna
 to 1050 ne auditus et obtutus sacris misteriis denudatus

C. 'HAVING NO PART OR SHARE IN, LACKING, DEVOID OF, WITHOUT'—
bedæled.

§15. Things one has no share in or lacks may be:

1. Objective (human associations, possessions, glory of paradise, sight of God and His glory).

2. Subjective (states, qualities, deeds).

1. Objective

a. Human associations

- 7 C. Widsið 52: godes *ond* yfles
 þær ic cunnade cnosle bidæled;
 freomægum feor folgade wide.
 Moncrieff 1921: of good and evil
 There I made trial; from my tribe divided,
 From my kinsmen far, I followed men widely.
- 880 GD 215.20: & þa sæt þæt earme wif weres bedæled ofer þam
to lichaman hire forðferdan ceorles
- 890 Migne 77.264 A: Igitur juxta defuncti corpus viduata
 mulier sedit
- 998 Saints 32.259: Nis angel-cynn bedæled drihtnes halgena.
 The English nation is not deprived of the Lord's saints.
 Genesis 27.45: Hwi sceal ic beon bedæled ægðer minra
 sunena on anum dæge?
 cur utroque orbabor filio in uno die?
- Napier 3371: fraudarentur *bedæle* <de>
 Aldhelm 281.1: ut . . . ipsi . . . optatae generationis here-
 dibus et futuris nepotum nepotibus funditus fraudaren-
 rentur.
- c. 1155 Layamon 2.81.1: Melga and Wanis!
to ihurden suggē ful iwis.
- c. 1166 þat þas Bruttene!
 Wes of cnihte bi-dæled.
 Melga and Wanis heard say full truly,
 that this Britain was bereaved of knights
- Layamon 2.107.16: & þus is Brutlondes ærd:
 of folke bidæled.
 And thus is Britain's land of folk bereaved.
- c. 1155 Layamon 2.265.16: & gif we hom ne falleð:
to þænne beon we fæie.
- c. 1166 ilæid on felde:
 & freode bidælde.

and if we fell them not, then be we dead, laid on *the* field,
and deprived of friends!

b. Possessions

Second
half
8 C.

Wanderer 20: Swa ic modsefan minne sceolde
oft earmcearig eðle bidæled,
freomægum feor feterum sælan

Kershaw 1922: I myself too, in my misery and distress,
have constantly had to bind my feelings in fetters—
exiled from home and far from my kinsmen

Second
half
8 C.

Andreas 309: Hu gewearð þe þæs, wine leofesta,
ðæt ðu sæbeorgas secan woldes,
merestreama gemet, maðmum bedæled,
ofer cald cleofu ceoles neosan?

Root 1899:

How comes it thou wouldst visit, my dear friend,
The sea-hills, boundaries of the ocean-streams,
To seek a vessel by the cold sea-cliffs
All penniless?

994

Ælfric, Hom 2.494.10: þonne beo ge eower æhta bedælede
and to nahte forsewene.

then will ye be deprived of your possessions, and
despised as naught.

c. 1100

Reden der Seele an den Leichnam:

B 16: Of weolen þu ært bedæled.

Der Schätze bist du beraubt.

LH: Thou art without treasure.

C 32: Colde is þe ibedded, cloþes bideled.

Kalt ist dir gebettet, Kleider sind dir geraubt.

LH: der du ohne Kleider bist.

E 9: þine bon beoþ bedæled

(Of þ)ære wæde, þe heo weren to iwunede.

deine Gebeine werden getrennt von dem Gewand,
an das sie gewöhnt waren.

LH: thy bones will lack the clothes to which
they were accustomed.

c. 1155
to

Layamon 2.137.5: A weoren Bruttes!
godes bidaled.

c. 1166

Ever were *the* Britons deprived of goods.

c. 1275

The Proverbs of Alfred 487: gif þu i þin helde best
welþes bidelid

LH: If thou in thine old age art without wealth

c. Glory of Paradise

c. 700

Genesis A 930: þu scealt oðerne eðel secean,
 wynleasran wic, and on wræc hweorfan
 nacod niedwædla, neorxnawanges
 dugeðum bedæled;

LH: Thou shalt seek another home, a joyless dwelling,
 and live in exile naked and needy, without the
 glory of Paradise.

First
 half
 8 C.

Crist 1407: ða þu of þan gefean fremde wurde
 feondum to willan feor aworpen
 neorxnawonges wlite nyde sceoldes
 agiefan geomormod gæsta eþel
 earg *ond* unrot eallum bidæled
 dugeþum *ond* dreamum

Gollancz 1895: then thou becamest, to thy foes' delight,
 an alien to that joy, cast out afar;
 perforce then hadst thou sadly to forego
 the charm of Paradise, the spirits' home,
 —wicked and sorrowful, cut off from all
 its blessings and its joys—

Note the parallel adjective *fremde* in the first line.

d. Sight of God and His glory

994

Ælfric Hom 2.448.2: God geseah ðone deofol, and se deofol
 swa-ðeah wæs bedæled Godes gesihðe and his wuldres.

God saw the devil, and, nevertheless, the devil was
 deprived of the sight of God and his glory.

2. Subjective

a. States

700

Beowulf 721: Com þa to recede rinc siðian
 dreamum bedæled.

to

730

Hall 1911: So this creature, deprived of joys, came
 journeying to the hall.

Beowulf 1275: þa he hean gewat,
 dreame bedæled deaþwic seon,
 mancynnes feond.

Hall 1911: Then he, the enemy of mankind, went off,
 abased, deprived of joy, to see his house of death.

790

Christ and Satan 68: Crist heo afirde,
 dreamum bedelde.

to

830

Kennedy 1916: Christ had cast them out, and banished
 them from joy.

Kennedy's translation receives the approval of Merrel Dare Clubb, in his edition of *Christ and Satan*, p. 64 (Yale Studies in English 70). Ernst A. Kock, *Jubilee Jaunts and Jottings*, p. 30 (1918), likewise interprets *bedelde* as a preterite. Clubb comments:

Kock's interpretation (Jub. Jaunts, p. 30) of *dreamum bedelde* as co-ordinate with *heo afirde* gives a stylistic effect which is a great improvement over the usually assumed participial construction. Kock's view had, however, been anticipated in Kennedy's translation.

Kock's interpretation and Kennedy's translation, however, are not identical. Kock punctuates:

Crist heo afirde / dreamum, bedælde

and translates: 'Christ had removed and severed them from joys', *dreamum* belonging to both verbs, while Kennedy has Christ cast the rebel angels out of heaven and banish them from joy. Both interpretations cast a dubious light upon the character of Christ. This offensive connotation vanishes, if, in conformity with the fundamental character of the word, we interpret *bedelde* as an adjective. *Dreamum bedelde* then expresses the state of mind of the fallen angels, the natural consequence of their banishment from heaven.

790 Christ and Satan 343: Godes andsacan
to hweorfan geond helle hate onæled
830 ufan and utan (him wæs æghwær wa),
witung werige, wuldres bescyrede,
dreamum bedælde.

Kennedy 1916: God's adversaries wandered throughout hell, burning with flame above and below (on every side was torture); oppressed with pain, bereft of joy, and shorn of glory

First Deor's Lament 28: Siteð sorgcearig sælum bedæled,
half on sefan sweorceð;

8 C. Bruce Dickins 1915: He who is anxious and distressed sits bereft of joy, with gloomy thoughts in his heart.

Second Juliana 390: is sceal feor þonan
half heanmod hweorfan hroþra bidæled.

8 C. Gollancz 1895: then must I abashed
far from thence depart, bereft of comfort.

Juliana 681: þær · XXX · wæs
& feowere eac feores onsohte
þurh wæges wylm wigena cynnes
heane mid hlaford hroþra bidæled
hyhta lease helle sohton.

- Gollancz 1895: There were
 four and thirty of the race of warriors
 bereft of life through the wave's rage,
 servants together with their lord; comfortless,
 hopeless, they sought hell.
- c. 1155 Layamon 2.452.11: þenne is þe balde uox:
 blissen al bideled.
- c. 1166 then is the bold fox of bliss all deprived.
- 10 C. Salomo und Saturn 379: ðonne he geong færeð,
 hafað wilde mod, werige heortan,
 sefan sorgfullne, slideð geneahhe
 werig wilna leas wuldres bedæled.
 Kemble 1848 p. 168: when young he goeth about,
 hath a wild disposition, a weary heart,
 a sorrowful spirit, he slippeth oft enough,
 weary, joyless, deprived of honour;
- 971 Wulfstan 256.11 (= BlH): nelle ic eow habban on minre
 geferrædenne, ac gewitað fram me, wuldre bedælede,
 freondum afyrede, feondum betæhte in þam hatan wylme
 hellefyres
 LH: I do not wish to have you in my fellowship, but
 depart from me, ye who have no share in glory, are
 removed from friends, committed to the fiends in
 the hot boiling of hell-fire
- 990 Ælfric, Hom 1.132.14: Se ðe on ðisum andweardum life is
 wiðinnan ablend, swa þæt he næfð nan andgit ne hoga
 embe Godes beboda, he bið þonne eft wiðutan ablend, and
 991 ælces lehtes bedæled;
 He who in this present life is blinded within, so that
 he has no understanding, nor heed of God's command-
 ments, he will then be blinded without, and deprived
 of every light;
- 994 Ælfric, Hom 2.316.12: And we sceolon us clænsian fram
 unclænum dædum, þæt se Mihtiga God on urum mode
 wunige, seðe ænne gehwilcne þurh his Gast geneosað, and
 ða fulan forlæt for heora fracodnyse, lehtes bedælede;
 forðan ðe hi ne lufiað hine.
 and we should cleanse ourselves from unclean deeds,
 that the Mighty God may dwell in our mind, who
 visits every one through his Spirit, and forsakes the
 foul for their depravity, deprived of light; because
 they love him not.

990 Ælfric, Hom 1.544.23: and ðeah ðe hi swurdes ecge ne
to gefreddon, þeah ðurh heora lifes geearnunga hi ne beoð
991 martyrdomes bedælede, forðan þe martyrdom bið gefrem-
med na on blodes gyte anum, ac eac swylce on synna
forhæfednysse, and on biggenge Godes beboda.

and though they felt not the sword's edge, yet, through
the merits of their lives, are they not deprived of
martyrdom, for martyrdom is not effected by blood-
shed only, but also by abstinence from sins, and by
the observance of God's commandments.

c. 1275 Layamon 2.303.14, MS Cott. Otho, C XIII:
and þe king Gillomaur!
gan to fleonde þar
in to one mochele wode!
worsipe bi-deled.

And the king Gillomar gan to flee there, into a great
wood,—of worship bereaved,—

c. 1155 Layamon 2.303.24: seouen þusend þer leien!
to liues bidæled.

c. 1166 seven thousand there lay deprived of life.

c. 1200 Ormulum 13854: & forr þatt itt bidæledd iss
Off all soþ lufess hæte.

LH: and on that account it is devoid of all true love's heat.

A state may be undesirable.

790 Christ and Satan 295: Beorhte scinað
to gesælige sawle, sorgum bedælde,
830 þær heo æfre forð wunian moten
cestre and cynestol.

Kennedy 1916: Brightly shine the souls of the blessed,
freed (LH: free) from sorrow, evermore possessing
cities and a kingly throne.

b. Qualities

Qualities may be good or bad.

1. Good qualities

Second Crist 563: nu sind forcumene ond in cwicsusle
half gehynde ond gehæfte in helle grund
8 C. duguþum bidæled deofla cempa

Gollancz 1895:

Now are they quelled, the devils' champions,

- in living torture humbled and held bound,
bereft of prowess, in hell's abyss:
- 790 Christ and Satan 121:
to Forðon ic sceal hean and earm hweorfan ðy widor,
830 wadan wræclastas, wuldre benemed,
duguðum bedeled, nænigne dream agan
uppe mid ænglum
Kennedy 1916: Wherefore, downcast and wretched, I
must wander far, an exile journey, stripped of
glory, shorn of virtue, bereft of joy in heaven among
the angels
- 790 Christ and Satan 185:
to Ic þæt morðer sceal,
830 wean and witu and wrace dreogan,
goda bedæled, iudædum fah,
þæs ðe ic gebohte adrifan drihten of selde,
weoroda waldend;
Kennedy 1916: Needs must I undergo correction, ven-
geance and punishment and pain, stripped of every
good, stained by my former deeds, because I thought
to drive God from His throne, the Lord of hosts.
- Last Boethius 41.19: Ac (*se þe wile wisli*)ce & geornlice
decade (*æfter þam*) hlisan spyrian, (*þōn*) ongīt he swiðe hræðe
9 C. (*hu lytel*) he bið, & hu læne, & hu (*tedre*, & *h*)u bedæled
ælces godes.
Sedgefield p. 42: But he that is wise and earnest in
his quest of good report soon perceiveth how small a
thing it is, how fleeting, how frail, and void of all
good.
- 994 Ælfric, Hom 2.522.26: Ealle gode þing hæfð, se ðe þa soðan
lufe hæfð: witodlice se ðe hi næfð, se is bedæled ælces
godes.
He has all good things who has true love: but he who
has it not is deprived of (LH: devoid of) every good.
- 990 Ælfric, Hom 1.346.27: Ac seo ðe bedæled is þam godnyssum,
to heo geomrige and gewilnige þæt se cystiga Wealdend þurh
991 his gife hi geðeode þam hlyte his gecorenra.
But let the soul which is deprived of those excellen-
ces mourn, and desire that the bountiful Ruler will,
through his grace, associate it to the lot of his chosen.

- Last decade 9 C. Boethius 95.18: Nis nan swa swiðe bedæled ryhtwisnesse
 þ he nan ryht andwyrde nyte, gif mon acsað.
 Sedgfield p. 108: None is so sorely bereft of righteousness that he can give no right answer, when asked.
- 990 to 991 Ælfrie, Hom 1.126.32: Næs he bedæled þære soðan lufe,
 ðaða he bæd Drihten for his ðeowan hæle.
 He was not void of true love, when he besought the Lord for the health of his servant.
- Ælfrie, Hom 1.306.30: Næfð se yfela ða soðan lufe, ne se goda nys hyre bedæled.
 The evil has not true love, nor is the good devoid of it.
- c. 1155 to c. 1166 Layamon 2.453.21: Her wes Arður þe king:
 aðelen bidæled.
 Hereby was Arthur the king of honor deprived
 Layamon 2.445.2: and flugen ut of castle:
 kenscipe bidaled.
 and fled out of the castle, of courage bereft;
- 990 Ælfrie, Hom 1.444.33: Nis heo nanes haliges mægnes
 bedæled, ne nanes wites, ne nanre beorhtnysse;
 She is void of no holy virtue, nor any beauty, nor any brightness;
- 994 Ælfrie, Hom 2.144.1: þa wæs þæt igland mid ealle bedæled
 wæteres wynsumnysse, on ðam westum cludum
 But that island was wholly deprived of the blessing of water in its barren rocks
- c. 1155 to c. 1166 Layamon 2.3.19: þat na man ne wurðe swa wod:
 ne witte bi-dæled.
 þat in his hirede breke grið:
 that no man should be so wild, nor so void of wit
 that in his host should break *the* peace
- c. 1200 Ormulum 4677:
 Loc nu giff þatt tu narrt rihht wod
 & all wittess bidæled,
 þatt willt forlesenn þin Drihhtin
 & all þe blisse off heoffne
 Forr þatt tu mughe wiñnenn her
 Wiþþ sinne summwhatt littless;
2. Bad qualities
- First half 8 C. Crist 1432: ond þu meahte minum weorþan
 mægwlite gelic mane bidæled

Gollancz 1895:

and that, severed from evil sin, thou mightst become
like to mine own fair human form;

- 998 Saints 36.316: Se apostol wyrcð fela wundra on mannum.
and sægð us to soþan þæt sy oþer lif
undeadlic and ece . ælces yfeles bedæled.

the apostle worketh many wonders among men,
and saith to us for a truth, that there is another life,
immortal and eternal, freed from every evil.

- 12 C. Homilies 2.49.17: Turtle ne wile habbe no make bute on.
and after þat non. *and* forþi it bitoeneð þe clenesse. þe is
bideled of þe hore: þat is cleped hordom. þat is alre horene
hore.

The turtle will have no mate but one, and after that
none; and therefore it denoteth the chastity which is
distinguished (LH: free) from the uncleanness, that is
called whoredom, which is the impurity of all im-
purities.

- c. 1155 Layamon 2.566.23: To Paris ferde Arður:
to ærhðe bi-deled.

- c. 1166 To Paris marched Arthur, of fear void
Layamon 3.33.15: Æuere wes Arður:
ærhðe bideled.

Ever was Arthur void of fear;

- Layamon 3.219.23: þa wes Edwine king:
ærhðen bideled.

Then was king Edwine void of fear

- Layamon 3.77.1: and þiderward gūnen liðen.
stið imodede men & swifte:
slaupe bidæled.

and thitherward gan ride *the* strong-mooded men and
swift, of sloth devoid

c. Deeds

- c. 1064 Wulfstan 149.22: and mid ure sawle anre we sceolon riht
agyldan on domes dæg. wa byð hyre þonne earmre,
gyf heo ana stent ealra godra dæda bedæled on domes
dæg beforan gode and beforan eallum his halgum.

LH: and with our soul we must render an account on
Doomsday. Wo be unto it then, the wretched one, if
it stands void of all good deeds on Doomsday before
God and before all His saints.

OE *bedæled* COMBINED WITH ADJECTIVES

§16. The adjectival character of OE *bedæled* becomes manifest especially in certain significant passages, where *bedæled* is combined with adjectives, either parallel or in contrast.

I Parallel

- 7 C. Widsið 52: enosle bidæled;
 freomægum feor
 Moncrieff 1921: from my tribe divided,
 From my kinsmen far
- Second Wanderer 20: Swa ic modsefan minne sceolde
 half oft earmcearig eðle bidæled,
 8 C. freomægum feor feterum sælan
 I myself too, in my misery and distress, have constantly
 had to bind my feelings in fetters—exiled from home
 and far from my kinsmen.
- First Deors Klage 28 (Sieper 1915):
 half Siteð sorgcearig sælum bidæled
 8 C. Ein trauriger Mann sitzt trostverlassen
- Second Juliana 681: hroþra bidæled
 half hyhta lease
- 8 C. Gollancz 1895: comfortless, hopeless
- Last Boethius 41.19: (*hu lytel*) he bið, & hu læne, & hu (*tedre &*
 decade *h*)u bedæled ælces godes.
- 9 C. Sedgfield p. 42: how small a thing it is, how fleeting, how
 frail, and void of all good.
- 998 Saints 36.316: þæt sy oper lif
 undeadlic and ece. ælces yfeles bedæled.
 That there is another life
 immortal and eternal, freed (LH: free) from every evil.

II Contrast

- Last Boethius 108.29:
 decade þ ða goodan bioð *simle mihtige*, & ða yflan beoð ælces
 9 C. mægnes & ælces cræftes bedælde.
 Sedgfield p. 125: that the good are always powerful,
 and the bad are bereft of all might and virtue.

THE ACTIVE FORMS OF OE *be-dælan*

§17. There are seven active forms, extending from the eighth decade of the ninth century to the sixth decade of the tenth century.

1. Infinitive

- c. 893 CP 332.3: se hiene wile selfne bedælan ðære bledsunge
& ðæs welan on ðæm ytmestan dæge.

He will deprive himself of blessing and riches at the last day.

- c. 900 Paris Psalter 83.12:

Nele god æfre gode bedælan,
þa ðe heortan gehygd healdað clæne:

= Ps. 84.11: No good thing will he withhold from them that walk uprightly.

2. Present

a. Present Indicative

- c. 893 CP 68.23; mid ðy he hiene bedæled ðære oncnawnesse
ðæs uplican leohtes
he thereby deprives himself of the recognition of celestial light

b. Present Optative

- 959 Benedictine Rule 2.1: na þæt an, þæt he us æhta bedæle
to 963 LH: not only, that he withhold possessions from us

3. Preterit

- 880 GD 222.25: þæt se fæder hi bedælde his speda
to Migne 77.272 C: ut eam Pater suæ substantiæ exhæredem
890 faceret

- 880 GD 276.5: ac eallunga he bedælde hi ælces lichamlican
to gemanan & heoweuðnesse.

- 890 Migne 77.336 C: ab ea sibi communionem funditus
familiaritatis absciderat.

- 10 C. W-W 242.23: Fraudauerat, uastauerat, *bescyrede*, uel *bedælde*

All six sentences imply that something is withheld. In none does *bedælan* denote deprivation of something previously possessed.

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